# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

## VOLUME LCI.

## July 1895.

*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage, and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.*—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.

LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO.,
57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

BOSTON, U. S. A: MESSRS CUPPLES, UPHAM & CO.,
283 WASHINGTON STREET.

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

*No. 181.—JULY, 1890.*

## ART. I.—THE WRECK OF THE "TER SCHELLING," A.D. 1661.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE narrative of the wreck of the "Schelling" seems to have been long popular in Europe. The author returned to Holland in 1673, and he appears to have published his account in 1675. This was in Dutch, and it was followed by an edition in French published at Amsterdam in 1681. In 1682 an English translation was published in London under the title of "A Relation of an Unfortunate Voyage to the Kingdom of Bengala." In this edition the author's name is given as Glanius.* I have not seen the Dutch edition (which, it seems, was reprinted in 1746), and the French edition of 1681 does not contain the name of the author. I got this curious book at the sale of Mr. Archibald Constable's library. It is a thin quarto, and has some quaint engravings. An incorrect abridgment of the narrative is to be found in the second volume of John Struys' Travels, Paris 1827, and there the author's name is given as John Sterman. Mr. J. M. Foster in his notes on Ghargáon, J. A. S. B., Vol. XLI. (1872) p. 36, uses an edition of the narrative published in London in 1852. As pointed out by Mr. Blochmann in his contributions to the Geography of Bengal, p. 19, the place where the Ter Schelling was wrecked is marked in Valentyn's great work. In vol. v., p. 147, there is a map of Bengal which was prepared

* It appears that Glanius was only the French translator. He also translated the travels of Struys.

by Matthew van den Broucke who was a Director and Counsellor in Dutch India from 1658-1664. In it the Sunderbund coast west of Sandwip is vaguely marked as unknown, and it is added that it was somewhere here that the "Ter Schelling" was wrecked. The place is also referred to at p. 157 of the same work.

The sufferings of the crew from hunger are told with a plainness which is almost disgusting. There seems no reason to doubt the correctness of the narrative; but one may, perhaps, be permitted to wonder why the sailors were not more successful in catching wild animals. True, they had no fire-arms, but they might have manufactured some kind of bow and arrow, and one would have thought that when there were so many of them, and on a small island, they might have hemmed in a deer, or a buffalo, and so secured it. I have considerably condensed the narrative, and I have omitted almost entirely the account of the war in Assam. To many this may be the most interesting part of the story, but it has already been dealt with by Mr. Foster.

## THE NARRATIVE.

The Dutch ship, "Ter Schelling" (commanded by Jacob Jahsz Stroom of Amsterdam), sailed from Batavia for Hooghly in company with the Wésop, the Brouwers-haven, and the Nieuwen-hove on 3rd September 1661. She carried eight guns, had a ship's company of eighty-five men, and was laden with silver coin, copper and planks. On the 23rd September, Hildebrand the mate was down between decks getting out some rope, and there he had a vision which greatly affected him. He thought that he saw a number of pale and exhausted men swimming in the sea, and some dead bodies floating. He came back looking troubled, and after a while he recounted to his companions what he had seen. Some mocked at him, but others took it seriously, and began to prepare for some fatal result. He himself became sad and dreamy from that moment, though he used to be gay and fond of laughter. Thenceforth he could not endure light words or gestures, and was always exhorting his companions to pray for a deliverance from the evils which threatened them. He frequently besought God to show to them who mocked at his vision, what he had seen, or something like it, in order that they might be brought to a sense of their position.

On 8th October they came in sight of the coast of Bengal, but, being uncertain whether it was Bengal or Arracan, they anchored at two leagues from the shore, and sent the long boat with eight or nine men to make inquiries. They waited for three days, and then, as the boat did not return, they beat about in

search of a harbour. After a long while they saw three small boats coming from the shore towards them. They were greatly delighted, especially when the head-man, whom the others called Orangkai, * made signs to them that two of the boats were loaded with fowls, bananas and other fruits. He came on board, and the captain took him into his cabin and treated him kindly. Unfortunately the ship just then struck against a bank, and the getting her off was accompanied by some noise and uproar. This alarmed the Orangkai, and he went off suddenly and unperceived, and would not return, even to take the money for his provisions. For eight days more they cruised about, looking for the long boat, but at last they gave her up, and put out to sea in hopes of finding the other vessels of the squadron. While they were thus searching about, the ship struck on a bank, and when she got off it, she struck upon another and more dangerous one. Then they sent out a sailor in a skiff to take soundings. He found shoals every where, and so little water that they could not see how they were to get out. Then they gave themselves up for lost, and all began to bewail themselves, except the pilots, who ran to their casks and drank to each other's health. They anchored fore and aft, and, as the sea was rough and the wind high, the skiff was swamped, and the ship had an opening made in her, and would have sunk if they had not cut off the bowsprit. One misfortune followed another... The wind snapped their cables, and, though they immediately threw out two other anchors, this did not prevent the ship from striking against the bank, and so they had to cut the cables at the hawser holes and to abandon the anchors. The wind and waves increased so much that water poured in through the port holes, and it seemed as if every moment the ship would go to pieces against the bank. Still the pilots enjoyed themselves and sang, glass in hand, that, however furious the sea water (l'eau de la mer) might be, they would not let it enter the place where they were putting their grog *(l'eau de vie)*.

Then it was seen that the ship was leaking everywhere. For many hours they worked at the pumps, but still the water gained on them. They now gave up hope, and some lay down to sleep, while others insisted on having food. The steward would give them but little, but the cook made amends by climbing the mast and bringing down a number of sea-fowl (plongeons), which he had caught on the yards. They ate these along with some beans, called kitseri, which

* Orângkaya is a Malay word, meaning a chief, or person of distinction. The use of it by the boatmen, perhaps, implies that it was, after all, Arracan that was first sighted by the crew.

were found in one of the seamen's chests. The ship being now a wreck, they proceeded to make a raft for the construction of which the planks which were part of the cargo probably gave facilities. More than half the crew got on board the raft, but many of them were drunk, and the raft was very low in the water. Apparently it soon sank, for those who remained on board the ship lost sight of it, and nothing more was seen or heard afterwards of it or of the passengers. A few, however, came back from it to the ship immediately after starting, and thus the number on board the ship was thirty-two. These proceeded to make another raft, and on this they set off at midnight when the tide had half run out. They would fain have waited till daylight and the time of high water, but the emergency was too pressing. They took very few provisions with them, and had two compasses, two cutlasses, a sword, a hatchet, some improvised oars, a lantern and some pounds of candles. Their sufferings were great, for they were in water up to their waists, the air was very cold * and the night was quite dark. At daylight the tide was against them, and they were carried out to sea and beyond sight of land. The flood again brought them towards the shore, and after much labour and many struggles, they eventually got to land. While they were on the raft they had many strange illusions. One thought he was back in Holland and cried out that he saw the tower of Helvoetsluys. Another said he saw a church, another that he saw the masts of a ship. The author of the narrative laughed for a time at their follies, but he afterwards fell into them himself. He cried out that he saw people amusing themselves in a castle ahead, and that he would join them. He rushed off, and fell into the water. He was pulled out, and then he took a cask for the galley-stove, and as he was very cold, he sat down by it to warm and dry himself. The imaginary heat perhaps did him as much good as a real fire, for he soon fell into a sweet sleep and awoke sane. At one time the raft was like to sink from being overloaded, and some proposed that during the night they should throw their companions into the water. The carpenter made a better suggestion. They had a quantity of silver on board the raft, and he got them to tie it up in several pairs of trowsers and to use it as a counter weight and as an anchor. Another packet of silver was made into a lead for sounding with. At two o'clock in the afternoon they got so near the land, that there was no more fear of their being carried out again, so they pulled up their anchor of silver, and divided it

* It must be remembered that the dates are old style, so that the journey on the raft was made in the beginning of November.

among them. They now thought that they saw fishermen drying their nets in the sun, and others thought that they saw cattle grazing in a meadow. They then called to mind that the people of Bengal had a great aversion to swine's flesh, and so they flung their pork into the sea. They did the same with a barrel of biscuits, because they thought that, now they were so near the shore, they would not require it. As soon as they landed, the captain and some ten or twelve of the more active of the crew ran forward to make discoveries. The others followed, praying those in front to make haste to find a place where they could eat, and dry themselves. As they walked along, they talked with confidence of the men whom they had seen on the shore. They moved on cheerfully, therefore, towards the thicket they saw before them, not doubting that the inhabitants would give them a good reception. But when they came to the wood, they found that it was a jungle without men or cattle, or paths, and without the least sign of its ever having been inhabited.

Still some of them could not believe their eyes, and were so confident that there were inhabitants, that they went on for a long while, crying out at the top of their voices, but, of course, without getting any reply. They now began to wonder what had become of the Captain and his companions, and, on advancing a little further, they found them all lying in a profound slumber. They spent the night there, but the air was so cold, and they were so poorly clad, that they could not rest, especially as one of them, the Lecteur (deacon, or chaplain?), had become insane and kept up an incessant outcry. Next day they marched along the shore in hopes of meeting some fishermen. The first thing that they came upon was a large tortoise, wanting the head, and near it was the partially decomposed carcase of a buffalo. A quantity of little animals called Leganés * were round the buffalo, but the smell was so bad that the travellers could not go near the carcase. They proceeded on their march, and after a good quarter of a league they came upon a creek, or khal, on the other side of which there were eight Moors (Mahomedans?) They tried to cross, but found the water too deep. However, after an hour, it became fordable. As soon as they had crossed, the Moors ran to them, fell at their feet and kissed them, and remained a long while on their knees, lifting their eyes up to heaven, as if calling God to witness to their innocence and to the injustice with which they had been treated. There were eight of them, four men, two women and two children. They appeared to be in great

* Perhaps the Paradoxurus Musanga, or tree-cat. The author mentions later on that one fell from a tree. It may have been a *khatás*.

distress, but all that the travellers could make out was that they were slaves who had fled from their masters and come there upon some sort of raft. As no help was to be had from them, the crew recrossed the khal and went to get the tortoise. They cooked it in its shell, and ate it with marked satisfaction; though there was not enough for all. Their number was now thirty-one, for the Lecteur had raved so much that no one would take charge of him, and so he had been left behind.

Next day they marched for five or six hours and came to a point of land from which they saw they were on an island, and some eight or nine leagues from the mainland. From there they marched back again to the place where they had spent the first night. On the road they passed by the place where the tortoise had been lying, and then they caught and killed a Leganés. The animal was only of the size of a cat, and its flesh was insipid and disagreeable; yet they found it good, and they also appreciated the brackish water. Half an hour afterwards they read the Bible (they had still two), the pilot said a prayer, and then they all slept by turns round the fire, for there were too many of them to lie round it all at once. They began the next day with prayer, and then, by the advice of their surgeon, they took to eating the leaves of the trees, and, though at first they chewed them for a long while before they ventured to swallow them, they came to find them sweeter than the finest bread. They saw many boars, deer, and buffaloes in the woods, or wallowing in the marshes, but they had no fire-arms and could not kill them. However, they found two large serpents, and these they killed and ate, after having first cut off the head and the tail, then they went to the seashore and found some beans which were very palatable. Their cheerfulness returned to them, and they smoked a pipe or two of leaves as if they were tobacco, and exhorted one another to rely on divine providence. An hour afterwards they became dreadfully ill, their greatest difficulty being that they could not breathe. They now resolved to make a raft and escape from the island. Five of them went off on this raft on the thirteenth day of their stay on the island. The others went to look for the dead body of the Lecteur, in order that they might eat it, for they thought that, after eating serpents without being inconvenienced, human flesh could not harm them. They did not, however, succeeded in finding his body, though they came upon his slippers hanging on a tree. They now thought of eating one another and proposed to kill one of the crew.

"But, thanks to God, the proposal was not insisted upon, for if we had begun, we should certainly have gone on. Still the proposal made us suspicious of one another, and from that time we did not go to sleep without fearing that our throats would be cut."

One of them came and said he had just seen an enormous serpent, and proposed that they should attack it together. They ran to the place and found the serpent gone, but on the way they got a leganés, which fell from a tree at their feet. After this they had recourse to the stinking carcase of the buffalo. The Captain proposed to light fires on the coast in order to attract fishermen and vessels, and for some days they all worked at these bonfires. But no help came, and they became too exhausted to keep the fires up. At last the author and seven others made another raft and left the island. A storm drove them back to it, and then, on going up to the place where they had had a fire, they found one of the negro or Mahomedan women whom they had previously encountered. Her body was covered with wounds, and she fell at their feet and made them understand that her companions had done this to her. They encouraged her, and all sat round the fire to warm themselves. In an hour the pangs of hunger took hold of them, and they could not sleep. Suddenly one of them said he had an inspiration. "Admire," he cried, "the work of Providence. God has had pity on our misery and has provided for it so visibly that we cannot be in doubt. You see this poor woman, do you think that chance has brought her here? Remember Jonah's whale, and the fish of young Tobit." "Stop," cried another impetuously "let Jonah and Tobit alone. These are digressions which are not to the purpose, we are hungry and want food, have you any remedy?" "Do you think," replied the first, "that that woman is here only to warm herself? Perhaps that was her intention, but God has made use of it in order to bring her into our hands." "He is right," cried a third, named Charles Dobbel. "The more I look at the circumstances of this meeting, the more convinced I am that it is the work of Providence. I do not believe that this woman came here of herself. I am ready," he added, rising up, "to execute the divine will; after eating all kinds of impurities, let us see see if human flesh is good, and let us not scruple about it, since it is God's will and he has given his orders." The author begged him to reconsider the matter, and remarked, with grim humour, that if it was a revelation that they should eat the woman, it was the scantiest and most meagre revelation that ever he had heard of. The woman was a living skeleton, and it did not look as if she would be delicate food. He added that, if they began with her, they would never stop, but would pass on to eating one another.

Finally he suggested that in two hours' time they could go for the remainder of the buffalo, and that if they found nothing there, they would be free either to spare or to kill the wretched female. As soon as it was dawn, four of them set off for the buffalo. The other four remained by the fire, along with the

woman. When they had gone about twenty paces, Dobbel ran back to those who remained by the fire, and charged them to take good care that the woman did not escape. But when they came back with some of the buffalo flesh, they found that the woman had made her escape. They longed for her return, and were now all agreed that they would kill her and eat her. As soon as it was night, one stood on watch, and the other seven went to sleep. Two hours afterwards, the sentinel saw a negro coming quietly towards him with a big club. He struck him over the head with an oar and felled him. The others woke up, and the negroes fled. Doubtless they had come on the information of the woman. Next day they set off again on their raft, but found that it would only bear six men. Two had to be sent away, and the lot fell upon the two youngest. However, they afterwards rejoined the raft, saying that they had been all over the island and could not find the Captain or their other companions.

The Captain had told them that they would come upon two other islands. They did so, and succeeded in passing them, and in coming in sight of the mainland. After a while they made the land, and found that there were two ways to proceed by, one along the shore, and the other along the Sandwip river. They chose the latter. They were now so weak, that they could not go twenty paces without sitting down to rest. After marching for over three hours, they came upon trees, the branches of which appeared to be newly cut. Twenty paces further on they saw a boat, which came towards them. It frightened them to see that the people in the boat came to them without being called. Still more were they frightened when the men in the boat disembarked, and were seen to be six, all armed with knives. When they came close, the eight shipwrecked mariners showed their wasted bodies, and the skin of the buffalo. Although there was not much of the skin, it was enough to poison the air, and the boatmen recoiled, holding their noses, and threatening them with their knives.

"From their gestures we understood that they looked upon us as impostors. Then we hastened to show them our leaves, and to make them apprehend that that was all our food. They understood us, came near us, and beat their breasts in token of compassion and raised their eyes to heaven. When they had softened down, we indicated to them that we wanted to to be taken to the nearest village. They agreed, provided that we would pay our passage. Here I marvelled at the selfishness of men, and at the little desire they have to help one another. These barbarians saw us all naked, for we were only covered with rags, and were but skeletons,

and we had not the appearance of having any money; moreover, they showed that they had pity on us, and yet, with all that, we could not, without money, have got any help, and we saw that, without money, the mainland would have been no better for us than the unfortunate island where we had so long suffered.* We agreed to give them something, and left the bargaining to the oldest of our party. He offered a piece equal to a crown of our money. The Bengalis made us understand that we must pay ten, otherwise they would not leave their work. The old man offered them two, and then three pieces, and when that would not move them, he showed them his empty pockets, pretending that he had nothing more. The ruse succeeded, unfortunately for them, for we would gladly have given them a thousand francs to take us to some place where we could recruit ourselves. When we were in the boat, we made signs that we wanted something to eat. They said we must pay, we gave them a crown, and for this they gave us, on a cloth, about a handful of rice, and a pisang (plantain) the size of a finger. Each of us stretched out his hand so greedily, that the boatman feared there would be a tumult, so he withdrew and divided the supply into eight equal parts. The negroes, seeing that we had still money, ceased to row, and signed to us that we must pay more; we gave them a crown and they rowed about a dozen strokes. We gave them another, and they did the same over again."

Finally two other boats came up, and, after some more payments, they were conveyed to the Governor of Sand wip. On coming before him, these guides laid at his feet the three crowns they had received, saying Salamabeta! (Salamalekum?), *i. e.* Peace be with you.

The Governor received the mariners kindly and signed to them to take back the three crowns, but this they declined to do, intimating that their guides had earned it. Then he ordered them to be taken to their companions who received them with great joy. The Captain and the others with him (fifteen in all) had arrived there five days before, and those who went off in the first raft from the island, had arrived still earlier. The author was told by the Captain and his comrades how they had got away from the island. They had been taken off by some fishermen, one of whom spoke Portuguese, while another spoke Dutch. They took them to the Governor, and then a eunuch came and told them that the Governor's women wished to see the youngest of the

* The tenacity with which the Dutchmen had clung to their money throughout all their distresses, is, perhaps, as remarkable as the greed of the natives.

party. Two young men went, and were taken into a court-yard with apartments all round it, and were immediately surrounded by the women, some of whom took hold of their noses, and others pinched their cheeks. They even unbuttoned them in order that they might touch their necks. Others passed their hands gently over their faces and gave them tender glances. They all expressed a wish that the young men would stay there some hours, but the troublesome eunuch went out and signed to them to follow. The next day was a market day, and the Governor sent for them and changed their money for them into cowries, as that was the currency of the country. In the evening one of them put his head out of the door and got a severe blow on the nose from a slave He complained to the Governor, who got angry and sent for the culprit, who was one of his servants. He bitterly reproached him, caused an arrow to be passed through his nostrils, had a drum tied on his shoulders, and in this state sent him to the wounded man. There he got some blows on his shoulder and was then banished for life

The five men who had gone off on the first raft, had, perhaps, the narrowest escape of all. The Captain had told them to coast the island till they came to the point to which they had once marched, to make the crossing there with the flood, which would take them towards two islands, beyond which they would find the mainland, which he thought could not be more than 8 or 9 leagues from the island on which they had first landed. He also gave them a compass, and they set out with a supply of leaves for food. At this point they were joined by two others, so their number was now seven. They had no anchor, and for five days and five nights they struggled in vain against the currents, and were at last thrown upon a sandbank. Here they could find nothing to eat but some buffalo dung and some sea moss. The buffalo dung lasted three days, and then four of them made a plot to kill two of their number. The seventh man, Adrian Raas, prevented their design, by concealing the two intended victims in trenches which he dug for them. Then three of the plotters thought of killing the fourth but he put them off this by saying that he had learned the language of the country in the Coromandel, and would be of use when they came across fishermen. Then two made their way to land, and were afterwards sent up country to the Great Mogul. They could not make themselves understood, and so could not explain where their companions were. Eight days afterwards, the five who were still on the sandbank saw fishermen passing by. They told their companion who had boasted that he knew the country language, to speak to them, and he cried päi päi, but as these words

had no meaning, the fishermen did not approach. His companions abused him for his trickery, and succeeded, themselves, in making themselves understood. The fishermen approached and signed to them to put down their knives before they entered their boat. As soon as they did so, they began to fight with one another for some fish that was lying in the boat, and in the struggle some bags of silver fell out of their clothes. The fishermen seized on them, stripped the men of all they possessed, and flung them on the chur, and two, who resisted, into the water, telling them, with cruel irony, that this arm of the sea was Bengal. The unfortunate men lay there for twenty-four hours, until some other boatmen arrived. They took them on board, and regaled them with honey, and brought them next day to Sandwip, where the Captain and his party arrived the same day.

The author's party remained five days at Sandwip and were well treated, except that they were not allowed to burn fires at night, and so they had to eat rice and raw eggs.

After five days they begged the Governor to send them to Bhaluah (in Noakhálí.) He acceded to their request, and sent them off by boat. On the first night they arrived at Anam, a miserable village where they could get nothing. From there they hired another boat to Bhaluah. When they were two leagues off from it, their guides put them on shore and made them walk. They came to the gate of the Rajah there, and by his orders they got a soup called a Brensie *, which is only seen on the tables of great men. It is made of fine rice, and of the juice of a goose and a couple of fowls, which are pressed in a cloth after having having been boiled for two or three hours. To the juice thus strained out, are added various kinds of spices, especially nutmeg, cloves, sugar, saffron and cinnamon. The soup was so nourishing that in three or four days they recovered their plumpness.

"Still our stomachs were not well satisfied, and would have preferred something less succulent. We were obliged to eat it, however, for it would have looked very strange if we had preferred a little dry rice, and fish cooked in water, to a dish like this, which is only for persons of the highest quality."

The Rajah, or Nawab, sent them on from Bhaluah to Dacca, and there they learnt that their companion ship, the Wésop, had been wrecked on the Andamans, and that forty of the crew had been eaten by the inhabitants. When they had recovered their strength, the chief of the factory engaged a boat to convey them to

* I do not know what this dish is. Herklots, "Customs of the Mussalmans" mentions a palao which is called Biriani, and Biriani is a Persian dish mentioned by Forbes.

Hooghly; but an hour before starting, an order came from Mir Jumla to send them up to him. The order had to be obeyed, for Mir Jumla threatened that if he was refused, he would make slaves of all the Dutch in his master's territories. For thirty days they journeyed by land and water, passing through several towns which were almost deserted, for the inhabitants are accustomed, in time of war, to leave their houses and to follow the army. The author gives the people a very good character. He says they are gentle and honest. They have neither ambition nor envy, and they are so far from trying to take others' property, that they take very little care of their own, and are contented with little. They are quarrelsome and abusive, but in their greatest anger they never speak of the devil. They only take oaths in matters of importance, and these are inviolable. On the thirty-fifth day, they went on board one of the Nawab's vessels and found there four Englishmen, some Portuguese, and two of their own crew. From there they went on to Rangamati where they joined the Mogol army. Mir Jumla received them graciously, gave them liquor, and said he would let them go in six months. He granted them all the plunder they could get, and promised them Rs. 50 for every Portuguese head that they brought, and Rs. 100 for every Portuguese prisoner. Next day he sent them Rs. 300 and posted them on some gourapes (ghrábs), or floating batteries; each gourape carried fourteen guns and 55 or 60 men, and was towed by four kos boats. There were also two ships, each commanded by four Englishmen and a galley. There were also a very large number of boats without masts, which carried guns. Most of the officers were Portuguese, and Mir Jumla had such a good opinion of Christians, that, if a Moor knew a little Portuguese and called himself a Christian, he gave him a good appointment.

The author says also, that Mir Jumla had five hundred women with him. After a long march, the army entered Kuch Behar, and easily took possession of it.*

"The King of Azo (Hajo) thought that the walls of his capital would resist our cannon, and that he was safe, but he now learnt the contrary. We took the town by assault, and he was made prisoner. An iron collar was put on his neck, and from it two heavy chains hung down and were attached to his feet. In this state he was waited on by four valets." As soon as the king was chained, the General was pointed out the

* Mr. Blochmann says, J. A. S XLI, 65, that Mir Jamla took Kuch Behar on 19th December 1661, but if our author is correct in his chronology and in his being present at the capture, the date must have been a month or two later. The caves he refers to must be those of Jogighopa, opposite Gowalpara.

caves where the King's treasures were. Everything also was given up to be pillaged, but we were all deceived in our expectation, for, besides that these people wear nothing but a cloth that extends from the waist to the knees, everything was so well concealed that we could find nothing with the rich, or the poor, except a pot of rice and a box containing lime and some leaves, which they are always chewing in order to have their mouths clean."

The author goes on to describe the conquest of Assam. On one occasion there was a great storm in the Brahmaputra, and the galley in which the author was, sunk, and he would have been drowned if he had not been rescued by some Englishmen. Five other Dutchmen were saved by a women, (une femme forteet bienfaisante) who rowed towards them, and took them into her boat, although two men tried to prevent her from doing so. This storm is mentioned by the Mohammedan historian (Blochmann J. A. S. B. XLI, 71.) He also describes the naval battle which took place below Ghargaon (Blochmann, 72.) But while the Muhammedan says that Manawar Khan did his best, and makes no mention of the Dutch, our author says that Manawar left them in the lurch, and that the brunt of the battle fell upon them. They, with the English and Portuguese, were in the van, and had, for the space of an hour, to encounter the whole force of the hostile fleet. The author was fifteen months with the Mogul army, and then got leave and went back to Dacca. From there he went to Cossimbazar and Hooghly, and did not return to his native country till 1673.

H. BEVERIDGE.

## ART. II.—MONKS AND MONASTERIES IN TIBET.

AMONGST the many mysteries enshrouded amid the snows in the forbidden land of Tibet, there is one which for some years has excited unusual interest. The peculiar development of Buddhism prevailing in the country is a subject sufficiently worthy of investigation; but, when we come to hear of the large ecclesiastical establishments which there exist, and are told that monasteries are as plentiful and influential in Tibet as ever they could have been in Europe, the appetite for definite information thereon becomes considerably whetted. In recent years the secret native explorers in the service of the Indian Government have gradually brought in, from over the border, a goodly accumulation of facts, which, for the most part, have been suffered to remain unutilised, hoarded away in the departments to which they had been reported. In addition to this, researches in the language and literature of Tibet have lately been prosecuted with some vigour; and their results now throw much new light upon the collected facts. Analysis and arrangement are what is chiefly to be desired. And thus to the writer, who has devoted some years of his life to the study of Tibetan lore, it would seen to be high time to place, ready for assimilation, whatever can be drawn, whether from the above-mentioned sources, or from the half-digested results of his own collections.

Writers who have mystified us with a sense of the indefinite antiquity of things Indian, have long had their assertions accepted with much innocent trust by the ordinary student. But, as a more general body of investigators enters the field of inquiry, the first-received estimates of the far-distant beginnings of Oriental institutions are becoming a little modified. Specialists are particularly untrustworthy when assessing the age of their hobbies,—age possessing, for some reason, a mystic value in such matters. In this sort, the developed and literary languages of India—so far as they are indigenous to that land—are now proved, likewise, to be less venerable than their European sponsors had led us to suppose. Accordingly, we must not be surprised to find that the form of monastic association prevailing in Tibet can be traced to no very remote times. When Buddhism was introduced from India into Tibet, *circa* 650 A. D., the monastery had not come into existence in the former country. The Sanskrit Vihara was certainly not a monastery in any proper sense of the term. The Vihara

of the early Buddhists was merely an assembly-hall; and in later days it was enlarged into an academic school or college. In the head institutions, such as those at Benares, Pátalipura and Uddandapuri, sets of residential chambers for the Pandits and certain priests were eventually added, not earlier than 250 A. D.; but even then these places, with their respective staffs, cannot, with any degree of accuracy, be classed as monastic. Tibetan writers of later days were fond of likening their famous convents to the ancient Indian establishments; but their slavish admiration of everything Sanskritic promoted the acceptance of any legend of the kind.

However, to understand the unique position of Tibetan monasticism, a further retrospect is necessary. When literary Buddhism arose in India, almost contemporaneously with Christianity in Asia Minor, the expounders of the doctrines of Shákya-muñi conceived and introduced the orders of Bhikshu, or male religious person, and of Bhikshuni, or female religious person. But these orders were rather guilds of observers of the new Faith, than assemblages of persons living apart from their fellow-creatures. Moreover, so far as India was concerned, there is much reason to believe that the intricate ceremonialism and rules set forth in the books for the government of these guilds were rather the enthusiastic proposals of speculative writers, than observances actually binding, or largely carried into practice. As to the 253 commandments which the treatises lay down as necessary for the Bhikshu to keep, while the European Orientalist views them *au grand serieux*, the Eastern traveller will see in them merely the multiplication of theoretical possibilities, such as every Indian author revels to conceive of. Later, however, when these works acquired supernatural sanctity in Ceylon, Burmah, Khmer and Tibet, more rigid strictness was doubtless introduced; and the observance of the old theoretical rules expected and attempted. In Tibet and Mongolia a new departure took place ultimately; but not until the end of the 10th century or later. Buddhist books, and with these the various "systems" and ceremonies, were brought into Tibet *circa* 650 A. D., and the Bhikshu, or "beggar of virtue," was then also duly installed, with his Tibetan title of *Ge-long*, the nearest rendering of the Sanskrit name.

Thenceforward the snowy steeps and deep river-threaded valleys of the mountain-locked land became the happy hunting-grounds of Buddhist sage and Buddhist fortune-seeker. Of declining influence in India, here in Tibet they found themselves such as kings delighted to honour. The simple Pö-po-pa received their preachments reverently, if with little comprehension. Under the patronage of King Srong-tsan Gampo

(680 A. D.) and his enthusiastic spouses from China and Nipal, books were translated, temples erected, and the local deities of the old Bon religion of Tibet assigned their proper places in the Buddhist pantheon. This king—the first patron of Buddhism in Tibet—was soon discovered by the Pandits of India to be no ordinary being. The Dhyani Bodhisattwa Avalokitesvara, born from the lotus, was proved by them to have taken Tibet under his special protection ; and, in order to propagate the doctrine there, was asserted to have become incarnate on earth in the flesh of the pious monarch. Spyan-ras-gzigs (pronounced in the colloquial *Chen raisi*), or "the seer clad in a garment of eyes," was the Tibetan name bestowed upon the compassionate Bodhisattwa ; and he still protects Tibet by continuous incarnation in the persons of the Grand Lamas of Lhásá.

The Sanskrit Viharas, which arose in India during the 3rd century A. D., were primarily, we have seen, mere assembly-halls and academies, with verandahs for sages and priests. In Tibet the "Tsug-lag-khang" took the place and form of the Vihara ; and the first one set up was that which still flourishes at Samyé, founded about 760 A. D. Now it was these Tibetan Tsug-lag-khang, as well as the small hermits' temples in solitary places, which were afterwards expanded into male and female religious communities.

But whence are we to derive the Tibetan and Mongolian form of monasticism and "Lamaism in general?" The germ may have, indeed, been the Indian Vihara ; but there is strong evidence for believing that the developed communities were largely shaped by the Nestorian influence and example then so rife in Central Asia. Nestorian Christian Missionaries were in those days over-running the adjacent lands. These zealous propagandists, as early as the 8th century, penetrated even to the confines of Manchuria ; whilst recent Russian explorers have found traces of churches and religious establishments in Turkestan and Mongolia. Possibly such remains exist even in Tibet. We have not space to build up any elaborate argument ; but the reputation enjoyed by the Nestorians as men of light and literature, recognized later by Jenghis Khan, is at least suggestive. Certain it seems, from native history, that Lamaism and lamaseries did not arise in Tibet until after the close of the 10th century, A. D., and it was just prior to these times that Nestorianism was most active.

So much for the due understanding of the modern position which Buddhism has taken up in this land. But, curiously enough, though these tenets have permeated Tibet for many hundreds of years, yet they have not succeeded in obliterating the primitive creed of the people. The old Bon religion, which

preceded Buddhism in Tibet, counts at the present day numerous adherents; and even Bon monasteries, cast indeed in Buddhistic mould, still exist. Moreover, it is to the Bon priest that the commonfolk love to resort when demoniac influence is to be counteracted, or occult aid rendered.

## MODERN SECTS IN TIBET.

However, when we speak of Buddhism as representing the general religion of the country, we must remember that this Faith has no one model form universally observed. There is no unified set of beliefs; for Buddhism is full of schisms and dissents. In fact, there are eighteen different sects existing; and some of these are bitterly opposed the one to the other. But one of the eighteen is singled out as the State Church of Buddhism in Tibet. This orthodox branch of the Faith is that which was framed and embodied into a distinctive school of thought by the Reformer, Tsongkhapa, towards the close of the 14th century. The voluminous writings of this hero have yet to be examined by the learned. However, the school he set up is known to be founded on the Mahâyana system, the *T'eg-pa Chhenpo*, or "Greater Vehicle." It is certain that much of the new ritual introduced by him into the temples was an adaptation of that of the Nestorian Christians, who previously, as well as in the age of Tsongkhapa, sent, as we have mentioned, agents of the Higher Faith far into Mongolia, and even gave to the Mongol Tartars the variety of the Syriac alphabet used by the latter in Buddhist writings to the present day. So powerful and popular a teacher was the worthy Tsongkhapa, that he ranks as a deity now; whilst his followers are not only the strongest numerically, but also bear rank in Tibet as the only orthodox sect. The designation they take is that of the GE-LUK-PA, or Gedenpa school; and they are distinguished everywhere by their general propriety of conduct, as well as by the peculiarly bright yellow of their robes.

All the other sects, and even the followers of the Bon cult (who profess direct antagonism to Buddhism), are tolerated more or less; the chief practical restriction upon them being the prohibition against settling in Lhâsá. In other parts of the country they possess both large convents and well-fitted temples. The NYING-MA sect has innumerable supporters; and its establishments may always be recognised by the broad blue and red stripes with which the outside walls of the buildings are painted. The Government thus enjoins executive officers on this subject:—"In doctrine and principles, the Gelukpa school being the purest, you should follow it. But, although the Nyingma school has some alloy in it, yet, as it is useful in religious services for removing certain diseases and injuries,

its followers should not be treated with harshness. So also with the Sakya-pa school which is of the same source with the Gelukpa. People should be freely allowed to observe their funeral obsequies, and their services for the protection of the living, according to old custom. But although it is unfair to treat unfavourably the adherents of differing sects, yet the Karmapa and Duk-pa schools having opposed with violence the orthodox faith, and being heretical and making many converts, it will be your duty to put them down whenever you have the power."

The Lamas of Sikkim and Bhutan are of the Duk-pa persuasion; and the famous monastery of Samding, on the peninsula in Lake Yamdok, is a Karmapa establishment. The Sakya-pa school has many ancient monasteries, the great Sakya Ling, 50 miles due north of Mount Everest, being the leading establishment; others being the Gong-kar, Nalendra, Já-yai, and Kyisho Rawana monasteries Mindolling is the chief Myingma institution and the home of the most intricate and mystic ceremonies belonging to Buddhist sorcery.

## VARIETIES OF MONASTERIES.

Tibetan monasteries are of various grades. First in rank stands the LING, which in size and importance may be compared to an Abbey. The name originally signified "an island," and was transferred, we presume, to these lordly establishments to indicate the isolated grandeur and the independence of control which they enjoyed. Every Ling is ruled by a Khanpo or Khampo, who also has the distinction of being considered an incarnate Lama.

Next to the Lings rank the CHHOI-DE. These are usually large institutions, with halls and chapels appended, and properly ought to have schools or *táts'ang* attached to them, for the study of Sanskrit and the various systems of mystic Buddhism, both Indian and Tibetan. Learning of any kind, however, in many of the old Chhoi-de has become quite a thing of the past.

After the Chhoi-de may be placed the hosts of ordinary GOMPA, which are to be seen perched on every accessible crag throughout the country. A few larger places are styled Gompa; but usually they are the smaller establishments, sheltering from 10 to 80 inmates, and often comprise nothing more than a temple, with a few huts to one side of it for the accommodation of the attending ge-longs. Some Gompa, however, are built in regular form, with the Lhá-khang in the centre and two-storeyed or three-storeyed terraces of cells surrounding it. The word *gompa* (*dgon-pa*) originally signified a "solitary" dwelling, from the ascetic character assumed by the first

founders of the smaller fanes in desolate places. The village SHIGON, with its one or two serving priests, is sometimes honoured with the designation of *Gompa*.

Lastly, may be mentioned the P'UG-PA, or hermits' cells, which, in the mountainous regions, are not uncommon. These are really caverns, naturally or artificially hollowed, and inhabited by reputed saints and Nal-jor-pa *(Jo-gi)*, who have retired to these solitudes to live a life of severe meditation. They are held in much honour by all classes of society, as advanced in powers belonging to *Dga-chom-pa*, or saints near to Nirvana. These powers include coercion of deities and demons, and ability to cast spells and perform miraculous feats. They are frequently sincere thinkers, living an abstemious life, and able to concentrate their minds in systematic and continuous meditation of the most rigorous kind. These contemplative feats, though they are the most binding duty of every aspirant to sanctity, are rarely carried into practice by the greater ecclesiastics. Their mild meditative attempts are child's play in comparison with the rapt reverie which the recluse of a lonely *P'ug-pa* will practice. Sometimes regular colonies of *Ri-t'oi*, as these ascetics are styled, occupy a series of caves in some specially holy valley-side, living, and even disputing together, much as did St. Jerome's hermits in the Nitrian deserts. Many *Ri-t'oi* dwelling in the *P'uk* in the rocks above Sera and Daipung monasteries are recluses only in name and style of residence. Certain ancient *P'uk* have been transformed into religious houses, but still retain the old designation.

## GENERAL PLAN OF A MONASTERY.

The larger establishments are mostly set out on one plan. An eminence is invariably chosen as the site; often a shelving slope. Round the buildings is circled a high wall, with four gateways, to which broad steps ascend. The chief edifice is in the centre, and styled the Tsuk-lá-khang (Gtsug-lag-khang). This is the convent-temple, and contains the principal shrines and treasures. Huge prayer-wheels, like barrels on end, turning on pivots, line the entrance porch, which leads at once into the main sanctuary, where the deities and deified personages are ranged in groups, each with a *dún chok*, or offering table, in front, together with a burning wick floating in a pedestalled bowl of butter. The effigies are generally very ancient, always jewelled, and usually include certain of the Dhyani Buddhas; Chenraisi, Zam-pal, Dolma, T'o-nyerchen, &c. In the upper storey of the Tsuk-lá-khang is placed the *Gong-khang*, where images of "terrific deities," as they are termed, are kept. Here may be seen Tamdin, half-horse half-man, who frightens the demons with his neighing; Palden Lhamo, a goddess, trampling on

the remnants of her lovers whom she has lured to destruction, and drinking their blood out of a skull; P'urpa, with a human head, but a body like a large pin, upon the point of which he stands.

The Tsuk-lá-khang occupies one side of the central court-yard. Adjoining it, is the *Du-khang*, or assembly-hall; also used as the refectory. On another side of the yard stands the residence of the monks, usually a building three or four storeys high. The ground floor is entirely occupied with food stores. Long inclined planes, notched to give foothold, give access to the upper floors, where the inmates live and sleep There are no such things as cells for each person; a large number of monks herd together in three or four apartments. Only the head of the place has a suite of rooms to himself, one of which is the Library.

## Inmates of Monasteries.

The term which has crept into general use in Europe to designate all Tibetan monks is that of *lama*. This practice is incorrect; for in Tibet the appellation is limited in its application, and indeed very few of the religious order can lay claim to the title. In truth the word *lama (blá-má)* signifies "the upper," or "the superior," one; and no monk in a monastery is given the name, as a rule, excepting the head of the house. Thus we often hear of "the T'up-gen Lama," "the Di-chhung Lama," "the Rading Lama;" meaning the Superior, or, sometimes, the abbot, of the various establishments named. Monks of special learning often receive this honourable appellation; and in books the title occurs occasionally as a general term; but to style the ordinary *ge-long* of monasteries, large or small, 'Lamas," is an utter mistake.

The head of a Ling, or of some of the larger places, is called Khempo *(mkan-po)*; but it is a title specially earned and conferred, like our D. D., and thus is not to be understood as universally applicable. Over most Chhoide and Gompa, we find simply "The So-and-So Lama." In a monastery there are several distinct grades, which are attained to in process of time, chiefly by progress in studying and learning the sacred works of Buddhism.

On first entering the novitiate, young men appear to be given the designation of *ge-ts'ul*. After a short period of residence, the novice reaches the rank of a *ge-nyen*; eventually, if he can manage to commit to memory and formally recite 125 pages of the sacred texts, each page containing over 500 words, he is solemnly ordained a *ge-long*, or monk of full degree. Both *ge-long* and *ge-nyen* are considered to form part of the regular establishment of every Chhoide; but should a *ge-nyen*, after a residence varying at different monasteries from three to

five years, fail to pass in his 125 pages, he must leave the establishment. There are centres of examination; but all candidate monks in Tsang are supposed to put in residence and "pass" at Tashi-lhümpo. Other officers in a monastery are the *Omdze*, or chief celebrant in the convent-lhá-khang; the Chhoi-rimpa, or provost martial, who reports offences and carries out all corporal punishments; the Ger-yok, or assistant beadle; the Ku-nyer, or image keeper; with several other personages.

In the larger establishments strict discipline is maintained. The muster for reading the sacred treatises in the assembly-hall is stringently enforced twice a day; and late rising in the morning is punished with bodily chastisement with thin and thick bamboo poles. Where there are schools for learning the intricate mandal formulæ and the strings of Sanskrit syllables used in Tantrick ceremonial, several hours per diem have to be spent by candidates and full-ge-long in the school-hall. Other places are simply dens of idleness and immorality. All open offences of the latter character are said to be punished in Gelukpa establishments. In the smaller Gompa, the attendant monks seem each to be provided with a female companion, who lives openly in the lama's little dwelling as if she were his recognised wife. In Lahul and Sikkim, to have a so-called wife is the universal custom with nearly every ge-long. In the large monasteries of Tibet nothing of this sort is publicly allowed; and for an offence of the kind, a few years ago, the abbot of the great Ts'omoi Ling, at Lhasa, was degraded and expelled from his monastery. With regard to food, all ordinary ge-longs eat meat and every usual article of diet, but fish is forbidden. The rations are supplied them from the monastic endowment; and no labour is exacted in return.

We may now proceed to describe, individually, a few of the leading monastic establishments in Tibet; and, from a geographical and archæological point of view, the particular facts we have collected on the subject may be regarded as of some permanent value. These great convents, being centres of the political as well as of the religious life of the country, will most certainly assume an important part in our future dealings with the Tibetan Government, whether our intentions be peaceful or militant. The value of such information, consequently, depends upon its exactness.

Although a comparatively small establishment, we must place first in these descriptions the monastery to which the Gyá-ts'o Rimpochhe, or Grand Lama, is specially accredited in his character of a Buddhist monk. This is the

### NAM-GYAL CHHOI-DE

or "Monastery of complete Victory," which is situated on the

Po-ta-la hill just outside the N.-W. quarter of the city of Lhásá. The convent forms a part of the extensive piles of buildings on that mound, rising up side by side with the Red Palace where the Grand Lama holds his court.

The *tulwa* or spirit of the benevolent Bodhisattwa Chenraisi * is believed to animate the body of each successive Grand Lama of Lhásá. On the death of one occupant of the Tibetan Throne, this spirit flits into the soul of some unknown infant, born forty-nine days, or longer, after his demise. By the consultation of certain oracles, the locality of the lost spirit is eventually discovered. The infant in whom Chenraisi is proved to have taken tenancy, is first placed with his parents (who may belong to the peasant class), in a luxurious palace, the Rigyal P'o-dang, four miles E. of Lhásá. At the age of four the babe is moved with pomp to Potala and admitted as a novice in Namgyal. His discipline and instruction now commence; and prodigious it is said, are the mental feats accomplished by this child in the learning by heart of pages of Sanskrit Sutras. At the age of seven or eight years his holiness is ordained a full ge-long, or monk. Henceforth the child becomes head of both the Nam-gyal and Daipung monasteries, and Chief Lama of the whole Buddhist priesthood. After ordination his ascetic exercises are made very severe; and through close confinement in his palace prison, or by means of poison, his life has been always, in recent years, brought to an untimely end before he has attained the age for assuming full sovereign rights as temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch of Tibet. The Grand Lama who died in 1874, had just been invested with complete sovereignty, having attained the age of eighteen, when he was almost immediately poisoned by the abbot of Tangyai Ling, who, through his assumption of kingly powers, had been obliged to resign the Regency of Tibet. This dastardly deed was perpetrated, as usual, under pressure from the Chinese Government, who dread the advent of a fully fledged Grand Lama who might, if he chose, and proved of an independent spirit, easily oust them from Tibet. Here may be introduced, what has never previously been compiled, a *complete* list, with dates, of the

GRAND LAMAS OF LHASA.†

1. Dge-adun Grub (Gedundub) born 1391; succeeded as first Gyal-wa 1439: died 1478.
2. Dge-adun Rgya Mts'o (Gedun Gyá-ts'o) 1479: died 1541.
3. Bsod-nams Rgya Mts'o (Sonam Gyá-ts'o) 1543: died 1586.

* An emanation from Odpagme' (*Sansk:* Amitabha), one of the active astral Buddhas in the celestial region known as Dewachan.

† In this list the pronunciation is placed within the brackets.

4. Yon-tan Rgya-Mts'o (Yon-ten Gyá-ts'o) 1587 : died 1614.
5. Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang Rgya Mts'o : 1617 : died 1680.
6. Rin-chhen Ts'angs-dbyangs Rgya Mts'o : (Rin-chhen Ts'ang-yang Gya-ts'o) 1693 : died 1703.
7. Blo-bzang Skal-ldan Rgya Mts'o : (Lob-zang Kal-den Gyá-ts'o) 1705 : died 1758.
8. Blo-bzang Ajam-dpal Rgya Mts'o (Lobzang Jampal Gyá-ts'o) 1759 : died 1805.
9. Blo-bzang Lung-rtogs Rgya Mts'o : (Lobzang Lung-tok Gyá-ts'o) 1806 : died 1815.
10. Blo-bzang Ts'ul Khrims Rgya Mts'o : (Lobzang Ts'ul-t'im Gyá-ts'o) 1817 : died 1837.
11. Blo-bzang Dge-dmu Rgya Mts'o : (Lobzang Ged-mu Gya-ts'o) 1838 : died 1855.
12. * Blo-bzang P'rin-las Rgya Mts'o : (Lobzang T'in-le Gyá-ts'o) 1856 : died 1874.
13. † Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang T'ub-ldan Rgya Mts'o : (Ngak-wang Lobzang T'ub-den Gyá-ts'o) 1875 : still reigning.

GALDEN LING :—(Dgá-ldan Rnam-par Gyal-wai gling : "The Ling of completely Victorious Joyfulness.") (exact situation not yet mathematically determined.) This famous monastery, which is the head-quarters of the Gelukpa sect—the established Church of Buddhists in Tibet—stands enthroned on the Wang-khor hill, about 25 miles E. N. E. of Lhásá. It was founded, about 460 years ago, by the Reformer Tsong-khapa, who raised it to a high pitch of fame and filled it with costly images. The chief object of veneration is the grand tomb of Tsong-khapa, which is placed in the Tsuk-lá-khang. It is a lofty mausoleum-like structure, of marble and malachite, with a gilded roof. Inside this outer shell is to be seen a beautiful Chhorten, consisting of cube, pyramid and surmounting cone, all said to be of solid gold. Within this golden casket, wrapped in fine cloths, inscribed with sacred Dharani syllables, are the embalmed remains of the great Reformer, disposed in sitting attitude. Other notable objects here are a magnificent

* This Grand Lama was seen in 1866, by one of our secret surveying Pandits, who styles him a child of about 13. However, so far as our own information goes, his real age then would be 11 years. The Pandit describes him as a fair and handsome boy who, at the reception, was seated on a throne six feet high, attended on either side by two high rank officials, each swaying over the child's head bundles of peacock feathers. The Grand Lama himself put three questions to the spy and to each of the other devotees, namely : "Is your king well?" "Does your country prosper?" "Are you yourself in good health?"

† Sarat Chandra Das had an interview with this, the reigning Grand Lama in May 1882. He describes him as handsome, but very thin, and of an Aryan cast of face. He is now 16 years old.

representation of Zhampa, the Buddha to come, seated, European fashion, on a throne. Beside him stands a life-sized image of Tsong-khapa, in his character of Jampal Nying-po, which is supposed to be his name in the Galdan heavens. A rock-hewn cell, with impressions of hands and feet, is also shewn as Tsong-khapa's. A very old statue of Shin-je, the Lord of Death, is much reverenced here; every visitor presenting gifts and doing it infinite obeisance. The floor of the large central chamber appears to be covered with brilliant enamelled tiles, whilst another shrine holds an effigy of Tsong-khapa, with images of his five disciples (Shes-rab Seng-ge, Kha-grub Chhos-rje, &c.), standing round him. The Library contains MS. copies of the Saint's works in his own handwriting. The Khempo of Galdan is an important personage; and he differs from other great Abbots, in that he is not held to be an incarnate ge-long, and is not therefore a child when appointed. He is chosen by a conclave from among the most scholarly of the monks of Sera and Daipung: the late Abbot became ultimately Regent of all Tibet. The number of inmates here is reckoned at 3,300.

SERA LING (Gsera T'ugs Chhe Gling: "The Ling of the Mighty Heart of Gold"). An ancient monastic institution, one of the three foremost Gelukpa foundations, established in 1417. It is placed two miles due N. of Lhásá, and is backed by some long barren hills, the nearest one being Tá-ti-p'u, famous for its extensive deposits of silver; and indeed the monastery has been built upon the lower slopes of this hill. The ge-longs here form an important community; but Huc's statement of their number as 15,000 is an absurd exaggeration. Our latest informants, with one consent, estimate the inmates at about 5,000. However, this number is large enough to render the monks of Sera a formidable body as a faction. A notorious Regent of Lhásá by a crafty policy of granting them privileges, raised, with their help, an insurrection against the Ancient Constitution of Tibet in 1843.

Only one Indian Survey spy seems to have penetrated to Sera. His only information concerns the idols in the temples there:—"They differ in size and hideousness, some having horns, but the lower parts of the figures are generally those of men." Mons Huc gives a fuller description:—

"The temples and houses of Sera stand on a slope of the mountain-spur, planted with hollies and cypresses. At a distance these buildings, ranged in the form of an amphitheatre, one above the other, and standing out upon the green base of the hill, present an attractive and picturesque sight. Here and there, in the breaks of the mountain above this religious city, you see a great number of cells inhabited by

contemplative Lamas, which you can reach only with difficulty. The monastery of Sera is remarkable for three large temples of several storeys in height, all the rooms of which are gilded throughout. Thence the name from *ser*, the Thibetian for 'gold.' In the chief of these three temples, is preserved the famous *tortché* (really "*dorje*"), which, having flown through the air from India, is the model from which all others, large and portable, are copied. The *tortche* of Sera is the object of great veneration; and is sometimes carried in procession to Lhásá to receive the adoration of the people." At Sera, in the Ts'ok-chhen hall, is a wondrous image of Chenraisi with eleven faces.

TASHI-LHUMPO MONASTERY (Bkra-shis Lhunpo: "The Mound of Good Luck.") (Lat: 29°15′40″ N., long: 88°54′40″ E. Alt: averaging 11,850 feet). This celebrated establishment, long known to European geographers as "Teeshoo Loumbo," is the best-conducted monastery in Tibet, and is also the seat of Government of the semi-autonomous Province of Tsang. It has been built partly at the foot, and partly on the lower declivities of a rocky hill named Dolma-i-Ki—the hill of the goddess Dolma. The walls surrounding the extensive series of buildings are continued from the sloping ground at the base up to the southern face of the hill, meeting in apsidal form about one-third of the way up. From the base the land shelves easily down eastwards to the left bank of the River Nyang, at a point about four miles from the confluence of that stream with the Yeru Tsang-po. On the opposite bank of the Nyang rise lofty cliffs, so closely adjacent as to seem to overshadow the monastery, though the river flows between, and is here 120 feet in width. Across the river has been thrown a substantial timber bridge on four stone piers. Tashi-lhümpo may therefore be described as situated at the southern base of a hill which protects it from the bitter north winds, and as shut in to the east and north-east by the lofty cliffs towering up across the river, which serve to shield it from the east winds also. On the top of Dolmai-Ki is a lhá-khá, or stone cairn, where banners are always fluttering, and where, on high festivals, huge bonfires are set ablaze. The lay capital of the Province, Shigatse, lies on the upper ridges to the N. E. of this hill, hardly a mile from this, the ecclesiastical capital. Shigatse, large town though it is, is deemed but an appurtenance to the great monastery, and is technically the *de-shol*, or sudder bazaar of Tashi-lhümpo.

The lofty circuit walls, enclosing the town-like collection of buildings composing the monastery, are pierced by five gateways. Over the Eastern gate has been placed, in large carved letters, a prohibition against smoking within the monastic precincts. The Western gateway seems to be regarded as the main entrance. So, entering the monastic premises there, you find yourself in

a sort of town, with lanes lined by lofty houses, open squares and temples. In the centre of the place is the grand court-yard of the Tsug-lag-khang of Tashi-lhümpo. This open space, which is used by the monks for religious dances and other out-door ceremonies, is oblong in form, and 900 feet long by 150 broad. Round this space are reared the halls of the Tsug-lag-khang, four storeys in height, provided with upper-floor balconies. North of these buildings are set up in a line the huge tombs of deceased Panchhen Lamas. The body of each is embalmed and placed within a gold-plated pyramid raised on a tall marble table; and this structure stands within a stone mausoleum, high and decorated with gilt ganjira and small cylinder-shaped finials, made of black felt. One of these tombs is much bigger than the rest. It is that of Panchhen Erteni who died in 1779.

There are four conventual colleges attached to Tashi-lhümpo, all of which receive students from every part of Tibet, who are instructed in Tantrik ritual and learn large portions of the Gyut division of the Kangyur and Tengyur. The names of these colleges are Shar-tse Ta-ts'ang, Ngag-pa Ta-ts'ang, T'oi-sam Ling and Kyil-khang Ta-ts'ang. Each of these institutions has an abbot, or Khempo, who is the *tul-wa*, or avatár of some by-gone saint; and the four abbots have much to do with the discovery of the infant successor to a deceased Panchhen, or head of the monastery. From these abbots also, one is selected to act as the Prime Minister, or chief ecclesiastical adviser in the Government of Tsang. The most imposing building of the monastery is the temple and hall of the Ngag-pa Ta-ts'ang, known as the "Ngag-khang," which is decidedly the chief college, and, indeed, is the principal home of occult ritual and mystic learning in Tibet. Another college, the T'oi-san-Ling, stands at the extreme northern apex of the walls, some way up the slope of Dolmai Ri.

Hard by the last-named premises, is to be observed a lofty building of rubble-stone, reared to the amazing height of nine storeys. This edifice, which forms a very remarkable object on the hill-side, is styled Kiku Tamsa, and is used as a store-house for the shoals of dried carcases of sheep, goats and yak which are kept in stock for the feeding of the immates of the monastery. A wide-walled yard fronts the Kiku Tamsa, and this space is thronged by a motley crowd when (as is the custom in June and November) the gigantic pictures of Buddhist deities are brought out and hung high up on great sheets, outside the walls of the tall building. Turner, who visited Tashi-lhümpo 100 years ago, noticed and made a drawing of Kiku Tamsa, which however, he styles "Kugopœa."

The number of ge-long and ge-nyen generally in residence at Tashi-lhümpo is said to be 3,800. Outside the walls have been erected certain club and lodging halls, where monks and pilgrims

from different parts of the country reside during their stay here, each province having its own club-house, and the residents forming themselves into a guild, or *khamts'an.* Thus, outside the eastern walls, are the Lhopa Kham-ts'an, the Dong-toc Kham-ts'an, &c.

The head of the whole monastic establishment is the PANCHHEN RIMPOCHHE, who is likewise titular King of the Province of Tsang. Formerly his rule was independent of all control from Lhásá. During the last, and the early part of the present, century all British negotiations with Tibet were carried on with the ruler of Tsang. Now, though taxes are levied in, and passports issued in, the name of the Panchhen Lama, yet in military and imperial affairs the authorities at Lhásá are paramount. Lately, however, the inhabitants of Tsang have several times shown themselves impatient not merely of Tibetan, but also of Chinese domination; and any day, under an ambitious Panchhen, the ancient autonomy of Tsang may be re-asserted.

The present ruler of Tsang and head of Tashi-lhümpo is a child six years of age, who has been residing, with his parents and a retinue of 300 ge-longs, at a monastery on the Bhutanese frontier. Towards the close of 1889 he was installed with considerable pomp at Tashi-lhümpo, and has already begun to hold his Court and Council at La-brang Gyal-ts'an T'onpo, the consistory-hall of the monastery. He resides now in his private monastic palace, styled Kün-khyab Ling, just without the eastern walls of Tashi-lhümpo. His parents are comfortably housed in a palace immersed in a plantation of trees, dignified with the name of "Grove," and called Kiki Naga, not half-a-mile distant from the domicile of their holy son, from whom they are now parted. The Panchhen Lamas do not seen to have been subjected to the forced mortality which has beset their brothers of Lhásá during the present century. In 1882 the late Panchhen died of small-pox, aged 28. He was only the second ruler since the little Lama whom Turner saw in 1789, an infant prodigy of 18 months, who proved an able Governor.

Each successive Panchhen Rimpochhe is held to be an incarnation of the fourth Dhyani Buddha Nang-wa T'á-Yai (Sansk: *Amitabha)* otherwise called Yo-pak-me; and includes therewith the psychic essence of Gedundub, the sage who, in 1446, founded Tashi-lhümpo. Each fresh incarnation is traced to some unknown infant, as in the case of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa; but the Panchhen is by no means so great a sanctity as is his brother of Lhásá.

SAKYA LING (Sá-skya Gling) "The Yellow Earth Ling," (Lat: 28°53′ N., long: 87°54′ E.), a monastery of the heretical Sa-kya school of Buddhists—their head-quarters now and for

the past eight centuries, and an establishment which has played an important part in the history of Tibet. Eight of the abbots, known as the Sa-kya Hierarchs, were *de facto* Kings of Tibet, their dynasty continuing from 1270 to 1340 A. D. Kungá Nyingpo, born 1090 A. D, and Sa-kya Pandita, born 1180, were famous Lamas occupying the Sa-kya chair. The foundation of the monastery and its future fame are related to have been foretold by the Indian sage, Atisha, he, on his way into Tibet, having passed a rock, on the present site of the monastery, on which he saw the Buddhist symbol *Om* inscribed in Rangjung, or "self-sprung," characters. Afterwards this establishment became the seat of much learning.

Sakya Monastery stands some 50 miles due north of Mount Everest. It contains a large temple and a spacious assembly-hall known as "the White Hall of Worship." It is still famous for its magnificent library, containing numerous unique treasures of Sanskrit and Tibetan literature, unobtainable elsewhere. Some of these have enormous pages embossed throughout in letters of gold and silver. The monastery, though visited in 1872 by our exploring Pandit No. 9, and in 1882 by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás, remains undescribed at present. Its inmates do not dress in yellow, but in bright deep red robes. The Sa-kya Lama is still held to be an incarnation of the Dhyani Bodhisattwa Jampal Yang (Sansk: *Manjushri*,) and to carry *las* (Karma) derivable from Sa-kya Pundita.

SAM-YE LING (Bsam-yas Mi-agyur Lhun-gyis Grub-pai Tsuglag-khang). "The Academy where unchanging Wisdom from above forms itself into a mass." (Lat: 29°20′ N., long: 91°26′ E.) (Alt: 11,430 feet.) Notable as being the most ancient of all monasteries existing at the present day in Tibet, and as the first Vihara, or academical school, ever founded in this land. It was erected, as we read in Native Tibetan accounts, by King T'i-srong Deu-tsan, *circa* 770 A. D., at the instigation of Padma Jungne and Santa Rakshita. These Indian sages drew up plans for Sam-ye, after the model of the Vihara of Uddandapuri at Magadha. Part of the original edifice remains in perfect preservation. The monastery is well situated on a gentle incline, 35 miles from Lhásá, and some two miles from the north bank of the Yaru Tsangpo. The approaches to the place are deep in sand, which lies around in flats and hillocks, clothed with wiry herbage. A lofty circular wall, quite 1½ mile in circumference, surrounds the place, with gates facing to the four cardinal points. Along the top of this wall there have been erected a large number of small chhortens and votive piles, built of burnt yellow bricks. The exploring pandit, Nain Singh, counted 1,030 of these; and they seem to be covered with ancient inscriptions in old Lan-ts'a characters,

similar to those found near Gaya in India. In the centre of the enclosure stands the large *Tsuk-la-khang*, with radiating cloisters, leading to four chapels, facing, at equal distances, the four sides of the larger temple. The explorer found "the idols and images contained in these temples of pure gold, richly ornamented with valuable cloths and jewels. The candlesticks and vessels are nearly all made of gold and silver." Round the temple walls are Chinese and Lan-ts'a inscriptions in enormous characters.

Samyé is used by the Tibetan Government as a bank, where reserve treasure in bullion is stored. Fabulous sums are said to be kept there.

SAM-DING MONASTERY (Bsam-lding Chhoide: "The Island of Thought College."), (Lat: 28° 57′ 15″ N., long: 90° 28′ E.) (Alt: 14,512 feet). An important establishment, noteworthy as a monastery of monks presided over by a female abbot. In adjacent buildings is a community of nuns, ruled by the same lady. This august woman is known throughout Tibet as Dorje P'akmo, or "the Diamond Sow;" the abbesses of Samding being held to be successive appearances in mortal form of the Tibetan goddess, Dorje P'akmo (*Rdo-rje P'ag-mo*) The present incarnation of this goddess is 33 years' old (in 1889); and is described as being a clever and capable woman, with some claim to good looks, and of noble birth. She bears the name of Ngag Dbang Rin-chhen Kunbzang-mo Dbang-mo (pronounced Ngak Wang Rinchhen kün-sangmo Wang mo, and signifying "The most Precious Power of Speech, the Female Energy of all good.") Under this lady, the reputation which Samding has long enjoyed for the good morals of both monks and nuns, has been well maintained, the worthy Diamond Sow enforcing a very rigorous discipline. Among other rules, the inmates are forbidden to lend out money or other valuables on interest to the rural folk, usurious dealings being commonly resorted to by the monastic orders. Samding is a Karmapa establishment of the Namgyah school, and is consequently unorthodox in doctrine; being much akin in its ritual and literature to the unreformed Buddhism of the Nyingma sect. The monastery was founded by one Je-tsun T'inle Ts'omo, a follower of the philosophy of Po-dong P'yog Legs Nam-gyal, whose writings, to the amazing extent of 118 volumes. are treasured up in the monastic library.

Yamdok Lake is remarkable for the grotesque shaped semi-island anchored to the main shore by two necks of land. Samding is itself placed on the main shore at the juncture of the northern neck. Being built on a conical hill, it appears to be guarding the sacred island from intrusion. The monastery stands like a fortress on the summit of the barren hill,

some 300 feet above the level of the surrounding country. Huge flags of stone are piled in ascending steps up this hill, and a long low wall mounts beside them like a balustrade. At the top of the steps, a narrow pathway conducts to the foot of the monastery, which is circled by a high wall. Samding Chhoide is finely placed. To the N. E. it fronts the dark and precipitous mountain spurs which radiate from the lofty central peak of the islands. To the S. E. it looks over the land towards the illimitable waters of the weird and mighty Yamdok herself. To the S. it frowns down on the Dumo Ts'o, the inner lake betwixt the connecting necks of land abovementioned, into which are cast the bodies of the defunct nuns and monks, as food for fishes.

On entering the gates of the monastery, you find yourself in an extensive courtyard, flanked on three sides by the conventual buildings. Part of the fourth side of the parallelogram is occupied by a kind of grand-stand supported on pilasters of wood. Ladders with broad steps, cased in brass, give admission to the first floor of the main building. Here, in a long room, are ranged the tombs of celebrities connected in past times with Samding, including that of the founder, T'inle Ts'omo. The latter tomb is a richly ornamented piece of workmanship, plated with gold and studded with jewels. At the base, on a stone slab is marked the reputed foot-print of the saint. In a private, strongly barred chamber, hard-by, to which no one may be admitted, are laid the dried mortal remains of all the former incarnations of Dorje P'akmo. Here, in this melancholy apartment, will be one day placed the body of the present lady-abbess, after undergoing some embalming process. To the grim charnel-house, it is considered the imperative duty of each incarnate abbess to repair once, while living, to gaze her fill on her predecessors, and to make formal obeisance to their mouldering forms. She *must* enter once, but only once, during her life time.

Another hall in this monastery is the *du-khang*, on the walls of which are frescoes illustrative of the career of the original Dorje P'akmo. There, also, have been put up inscriptions recording how the goddess miraculously defended Samding, when, in the year 1716, it was beset by a Mongol warrior, one Yung Gar. Sarat Chandra Das relates the circumstances somewhat thus: When the Mongol arrived in the vicinity of Yamdok, hearing that the lady abbess had a pig's head as an excrescence behind her ear, he mocked at her in public, sending word to her to come to him, that he might see the pig's head for himself. Dorje P'akmo returned no angry reply, only beseeching him to abandon his designs on the monastery. Burning with wrath, the warrior invaded the place and destroyed the walls; but, entering, he

found the interior utterly deserted. He only observed eighty pigs and eighty sows grunting in the *du-khang* under the lead of a bigger sow. He was startled by this singular frustration of his project; for he could hardly plunder a place guarded only by hogs. When it was evident that the Mongol was bent no longer on rapine, the pigs and sows were suddenly transformed into venerable-looking monks and nuns, headed by the most reverend Dorje P'akmo! As a consequence, Yung Gar, instead of plundering, enriched the place with costly presents.

A certain amount of association is permitted between the male and female inmates of this convent, who together number less than 200. Dorje P'akmo retains one side of the monastic premises as her private residence. It is asserted by the inmates that the good woman never suffers herself to sleep in a reclining attitude. During the day she may doze in a chair; during the night she must sit, hour after hour, wrapt in profound meditation. Occasionally this lady makes a royal progress to Lhásá, where she is received with the deepest veneration. Up in Northern Tibet is another sanctuary dedicated to Dorje P'akmo. This convent also stands on an islet situated off the west shore of the great lake, 70 miles N. W. of Lhásá, the Nam Ts'o Chhyidmo, and is much akin to Samding, comprising a few monks and nuns under an abbess. At Markula, in Lahul, is a third shrine of the goddess.

With Samding our descriptions may be brought to a close. Many other establishments might yet be referred to—DAI-PUNG, with its 7,000 inmates, 5 miles west of Lhásá, and RADING, to the east of that city. Then, too, Gyang-tse Chhoide and Dong-tse Chhoide, on the River Nyang; Sam-tanzing, in Upper Tsang; and To-ling, in Guge, in Western Tibet, where several of the old classical treatises were written 800 years ago, and still a place of fame in our own days. Again, in the far east, RI-WOCHHE, on the Nyul Chhu, governed by two Incarnate Abbots jointly; and Chhab-do Gompa, a famous printing establishment, with 2,000 monks. All of these deserve more than mere mention. In conclusion, let us add that the total number of monasteries in Tibet is computed to exceed 3,100!

GRAHAM SANDBERG.

## ART. III.—'INDIA FOR THE INDIANS,' OR 'INDIA FOR ENGLAND?'

IT has become so much the fashion, in recent years, for every demagogue, every notoricty hunter, every political faddist, to attack the existing form of Government in this country, that many honest men who have little time, and possibly less inclination, to examine into the truth of the charges so freely levelled, or the advisability of the innovations proposed, may well be excused if they bow before the storm of declamation and invective that generally supplies the absence of philosophic investigation, and begin seriously to doubt whether our methods in India have not, from the first, been the outcome of veiled tyranny or the grossest political ignorance. There are others whose sense of justice has been so outraged by the reiterated misrepresentations of irresponsible and incompetent observers, that the mere fact of ideas having originated in the Radical brains of these politicians, who pose as the voice of the dumb millions, is sufficient to secure their unrelenting opposition. They will have nothing of Congress manufacture served up by Mr. Bradlaugh. It is enough for them that they know the tree too well; they object to any dalliance with its fruits. They are possessed by an angry, but silent, scorn. At a critical period in the history of the Empire like the present, when a strenuous, compact, and ardent faction has staked its political existence upon the partial dismemberment of the old Kingdom; when, catching at the fallacious analogy, an incomparably feebler party in India is aiming at results infinitely larger and more disastrous; and when we find that, owing to historical and ethnological ignorance, there is a distinct predisposition on the part of the advanced Radicals and Home Rulers in England to make common cause with the young India of Calcutta and Bombay: at such a crisis, so momentous, so pregnant with the darkest possibilities, it is surely time to examine with minute and dispassionate accuracy the grounds upon which our Empire rests; the nature of the shortcomings imputed to it; the justice of native aspirations, and the legitimate limits within which, when concessions are demanded, the dominant Power ought to be prepared to grant them.

This is no time for the man who loves his country and his country's fame, to sit with folded hands, bewildered by the noisy surge of new opinions; sulking in his tents, while

the enemy are carrying the outworks unopposed. It is not well for him to wrap himself in the cloak of virtue, and, secure of the justice of his cause, make no effort to stem the torrent which will else shortly sweep away the last vestiges of British supremacy in India. The specious fallacies of those glib-tongued preachers who discourse by day and night on the catchy text: "India for the Indians," may excite little more than a passing spasm of temper, or a contemptuous smile, in the infinitesimal minority who are capable of appreciating the gospel and its apostles at their true worth: but it would be the gravest tactical error to assume that this crew are justly estimated by the English voter. In England the audiences are as ignorant as the professors; they are, for the most part, pervaded by the spirit of political generalization; and they are as unconcerned about the collection of trustworthy data, as they would be for the most part incapable of verifying them, or drawing accurate deductions from them, when collected. They are easily caught by the glitter of cant phrases; they are easily led by appeals to their sense of fair play; worst of all, their minds are a blank page as far as Indian problems, social or administrative, are concerned, upon which the first Ghose or Bradlaugh, Wedderburn or Bannerjee, may write large the principles of the splendid doctrine of self. The constant dropping of water upon a stone will, as all the world knows, make itself felt in time; the British electorate can scarcely fail to be affected by the sounding appeals, seasoned with insidious flattery, which the Congress and its paid orators incessantly din into its ears. On the other side, no one has the energy or the inclination to defend the existing order of things. It is only too probable that, under such conditions, judgment will be allowed to go by default against Anglo-Indian rule, and that the plaintiff's decree will be shortly followed by possession.

It is at this point that even the most reckless reformer may well pause to consider the consequences. But it will then be too late: the friend of man will no doubt contemplate with strange emotions, the stupendous cataclysm of anarchy, bloodshed and despair to which he has so handsomely, so ignorantly, and, above all, so disinterestedly contributed. It is possible that a few Bannerjees may enjoy a temporary aggrandizement, before being hurried into eternal insignificance; that a few Bradlaughs and Wedderburns may gain a vote here and there, in addition to the splendid distinction of being interviewed as 'Friends of India," "Members for India," or in any other capacity which their naive vanity may suggest; that a few score English officials may be supplanted by local products—for a time: all this is possible, but is it worth the price? Is

the peace of India to be sacrificed to the ambition of Babudom? Is the stability of the Empire to be endangered for a set of parliamentary Pecksniffs? Is the welfare of millions, are their lives, their prosperity, their liberties, to be endangered for the sake of a sentimental, clap-trap motto?

That such enormous consequences depend upon the true appreciation of our position, our rights and our obligations, as Rulers of India, appears to me a self-evident fact. Yet it is a fact which the interested gloss over, and the timid shrink from contemplating. It is a fact that must be emphasized. It is not enough to make pedling concessions here and there, while we close our eyes comfortably, but firmly, to the underlying principles. We are in the position of a man launching his boat on some rapidly flowing river. There is nothing easier than to push off from the sheltering bank: it is pleasant at first to float with the rippling, swirling current; the stream widens, the vast, unsuspected force of the sliding waters carries on its helpless prey, and the roar of the cataract, breaking ominously nearer and nearer on his ears, sounds the note of Doom. Before our pilots launch *our* craft of State on this new tide, let them beware of some Niagara. Let those who advocate with a light heart this and that particular step in deference to popular, or what is called popular, clamour, reflect upon the tendency of the movement. This is the time when we may be said to be loosing from the shore: it behoves every statesman to look a little beyond the immediate present; and to make conscientious efforts to gauge the drift and strength of the current to which we are committing ourselves.

In the first place it is essential to investigate the principal premises upon which the entire arguments of Young India, or the 'India for the Indians' movement, are founded. These are, as a rule, two. The first is that the English conquered this country with Native troops; that the conquest was, therefore, entirely distinct from what is usually understood by that ungrateful word; and that, in fact, the English merely occupied India by the suffrages of its people, and were therefore, from the first, under a moral obligation to act as the chartered representatives of the Indian people and nothing more. The second is a necessary consequence of the first. The English, it is argued, have no right in India stronger than the right conferred upon a member of Parliament by his electors. Therefore, as soon as the English find their constituents, to wit, the Natives, dissatisfied with any portion of their conduct, they should immediately take steps to bring themselves into accord with the mandates of the Native population. Their humility in this direction should even go the length of evacuating the

country as soon as it seems good to Young India to request them to do so. This is, in effect, the principal variation of the party cry: 'India for the Indians.'

Though these premises may appear startling, possibly even absurd, as I have stated them, they will, in fact, be found to underlie every argument which has yet been advanced by the ultra-Radical school, and the more ardent Indian reformers, in support of eliminating, as much as possible, the English element from the administration of the country. And although they are certainly false, yet it would not be difficult to show that, admitting their truth for the sake of argument, they have still been sadly abused by the political conjurors and charlatans in whose mouths they are ever to be found. This, I hope, will be made sufficiently clear further on. But, to commence with, it can do no great harm to demonstrate the fundamental rottenness of the imposing superstructure in which Babudom delights, and on which it proudly boasts itself.

'Every school boy' knows (though a great many eminent politicians have forgotten, or pretend to have forgotten) how India was conquered by the English. If it was not a conquest, it was the most superlatively good imitation of one that the world's history affords. Conquest, war, bloodshed, might, the power of the sword,—these are all hideous sounds, suggesting limitless terrors to the ear of pacific Radicalism and loquacious Babudom. But they are the only words which Truth can use in describing the growth of the British Power in India. Are we to forget the triple strife between French, Dutch and English for the fair prize of Hindustan? Is Plassey to go for nothing? Must we close our histories and substitute for some of the most daring exploits of a daring nation, the pallid fictions of political dreamers and constitution-mongers.

Facts are stubborn things, and of all facts, perhaps, not one is more absolutely certain than that English supremacy in this country was acquired by the sword, and (though the prudes of moral politics would never dare openly confess it) still rests upon that ancient and somewhat discredited authority. For jurists and casuists it may be a pleasing and harmless recreation to speculate upon the possible modifications of a fine old indefeasible title, introduced by the accidental circumstance of the sword not having been wielded by English hands alone. But it is extremely difficult to understand the practical utility of any such academic exercise. The flags that waved over the conquering armies were the banners of England; the officers who led them were Englishmen. Was the conquest less a conquest, or the glory of it less England's glory, because the genius of a few of our exiled countrymen availed to enlist the sympathies and yeoman services of all that was best of the

indigenous fighting material? I never heard even a Radical member of Parliament argue that Akbar's conquests were less Akbar's conquests for Allah and his only Prophet, because Rajput Princes and Rajput soldiery enlisted under the crescent,—probably because Radical members of Parliament never heard of Akbar and would not know whether he were a Bhil, a Bungay, or a Brahmin, a Turk, a Tartar or a Jew. Did Cæsar never accept the assistance of the German and Gallic tribes whose territories he annexed? Were there no mercenaries and aliens in the armies of Darius, Alexander, Napoleon, Philip of Spain and Marlborough? Yet a conquest is a conquest, and a victory won on a stricken field is a victory, whether or not it has been won by homogeneous or heterogeneous arms. Sophistry could hardly go further than in this attempt to prove that our mighty Indian Empire has been, not the product of hard blows and all the questionable morality of war, but of a gentle and magnanimous consensus of opinion upon the part of Moguls, Rajputs, Sikhs and Mahrattas in our favour.

In its composite and peculiar elements, the India of to-day unquestionably does differ widely from any political factor that the civilized world has yet seen. But this, when impartially examined, will be found a powerful justification of the position we have hitherto held in the country, rather than an argument in favor of these wild chimæras which impetuous ignorance so much delights in.

It may well appear superfluous to devote more space to arguing the truth of a self-evident fact. It may, however, be desirable in its proper place, to suggest some reasons in support of the allied proposition that our power in India, as it was unquestionably acquired by the sword, does in fact, and always will, to the last day of our rule here, rest, in the final resort, upon the same authority. Thus far it need only be stated that, by many devious and romantic ways, the British, who had entered India as mere traders, succeeded in obtaining undisputed sovereignty over the land, that their paths to this supreme and unexpected eminence were marked by battle, conquest, and every incident which is peculiar to the acquisition of paramount authority by aliens in a foreign land. The result in its bearing upon the problems now under examination, cannot be affected by the morality of the conquerors, the means they adopted, or the instruments they used. The cardinal fact, to be kept steadfastly in view by the practical student, is that by 1757, A. D., India was, to all intents, a conquered country, and the English were its conquerors. From that day forward, the British power consolidated: there was less and less ambiguity surrounding the position of the ruling race; it was reserved for a modern school

of visionaries to raise the first doubts of our sovereign rights, and to prescribe to us duties and obligations entirely inconsistent with our actual and recognized authority.

This is not a historical review of the growth and development of English predominance in India, and, for that reason, only the most general terms have been used. But the point of substantial importance is that an authority which, disguised under any names and forms you please, has existed almost unquestioned for more than a century, is now challenged on the ground that it never existed at all. If, in fact, as those who put forward this plea would have us suppose, the English were never paramount in India, except on sufferance and by the express wish of the people, as well as by their active co-operation, how is it possible to explain the methods which, in spite of every protest, exist, and have long existed, for the government of the country by the English? Since the ingenious gentlemen who make capital out of such extremely theoretical arguments, have never been able to lay their fingers upon a single fact to give them body or substance, they are ordinarily compelled to fall back upon the assertion that our rule here is, and always has been, something very different from what our confiding native subjects ever intended or wished it to be. I make them a cheerful present of that charming *petitio principii*. It is sufficient for the present to observe the facts, without plunging into the cloudy theories which surround the possible beliefs and motives of a few dozen different Oriental races and peoples a hundred and fifty years ago

The second, and by far the most important, premiss of the Radical reform party is, that the Anglo-Indian administration ought to be carried on solely in the interest of the Indian people. Where the interests, or supposed interests, of Englishmen clash with those of natives, it is generally asserted, now-a-days, as an established truth, that the former ought to be sacrificed. There is something so very moral and proper in this proposition, that it finds unmerited favor with thousands of people who would be the last to approve of any similar principle being applied to their own detriment in the affairs of private life. And it certainly seems to require more than ordinary moral courage in any person venturing to give it a flat denial. As a rule, even the ablest men are found temporizing with it; they shirk the odium which they instinctively feel might fasten on any person who, in these days of cant, had the hardihood to assert that he preferred his own interests to those of others. They feel a natural repugnance to avowing any sentiment so dragoonish and buccaneering as that a ruling country has a right to rule primarily for itself. They invent subtle shifts and expedients to retain, as long as may be, the loaves and fishes, while repudiating straightforward

doctrine which would justify their enjoyment without any shifts or expedients at all. Thus it is that we have so many elaborate utterances in print, or in the lecture-room, wherein, with an artless and almost pathetic sophistry, their authors profess their complete willingness to make the most abject surrender to the will of the people, if only they could be quite sure that the people had any will, and knew it. Is there, after all, any necessity for this rather petty subterfuge? Are Englishmen altogether so degenerate that they have not the courage to say: We are here in our own interests primarily, and intend to remain so as long as we can? For that I believe to be the only true and scientific explanation of our presence in the country. Can the whole history of the world afford a parallel to this magnificently ridiculous experiment in political philanthropy, if, as a fact, we are here simply in the interests of the natives? And was there ever any talk, until quite recent times, of the English occupation of India having originated in any less selfish motives than those which invariably prompt the collective actions of nations?

The old East India Company, which laid the foundations of the Empire, thought a vast deal of its dividends, and extremely little of the methods by which they were procured. It happens very unfortunately just now that political philosophy in England is largely diluted with political cant; that there is an enormous floating mass of public opinion, very ill informed, but infected with certain shibboleths in which "oppressed races" and "every country for its own people," are especially prominent; and that while, on the one hand, timidity and cant blush to sanction the outspoken utterances of honest conviction, turgid, yeasty ignorance rapturously applauds, in the Babu, sentiments and principles which it would repudiate with contempt, as soon as its own pockets were touched.

The fact that the ultimate authority over the rulers of India rests in the hands of the British electorate, who are, as a rule, absolutely indifferent to Imperial considerations, because they are absolutely incapable of understanding them; that sad, significant fact is to blame for the most grievous administrative blunders of the past ten years. Upon that fact must be charged the fatally pernicious attempts of Radical and theoretical rulers to ingratiate themselves, at any cost, with the advanced school of Indian politicians; the sedulous cultivation of a dangerous spirit of discontent; the theatrical zeal with which the new wine of English democracy has been triumphantly decanted into these old Indian bottles. But, deplorable as the fact is, and immeasurably pernicious as are its consequences, it will scarcely serve to prop up the altruistic principle, that we have undertaken the management of India

for the sole benefit of the natives. Very many of the omnipotent British public are as shrewd and quick to understand matters of trade, as they are indifferent to, or ignorant of, the details of Imperial policy. What would they say if they were seriously asked to believe that a merchant conducting a large foreign business should carry it on with a single eye to the advantage of his employés? It is universally conceded by common sense that the merchant must consult his own profit before all other considerations. The same judges declare that the British Government is under vague moral obligations to sacrifice English interests wherever they clash with Indian. No one would quarrel with the merchant if he gave his sons and kinsmen posts of profit and responsibility in the concern, even though they might exclude a few foreign clerks. Yet the same critics are clamorous for the employment of natives in every lucrative and dignified post, to the exclusion of England's sons. It is true that the wise merchant will conduct his business with a strict regard to justice; that he will employ and remunerate many subordinates; that he will, wherever he can do so consistently with the preservation of his own interests, dispense as many favors and concessions to his servants as their services or merits have deserved. But, if it appeared, that through the operation of any unforseen causes, he was damaging himself by the adoption of any particular line of business, very few practical men would expect him to continue trading at a loss, and with the certainty of ultimate ruin, in order that this or that cashier or clerk might continue to enjoy a weekly wage, or that any particular class of customers might be supplied with goods below the market rate. Mercantile philanthropy of that sort would excite contemptuous pity, rather than meaningless applause. Yet it is a very similar political philanthropy which the Radical public are strenuously enjoining on the Indian Government.

It is the part of a liberal and strong Government to secure the greatest amount of general tranquillity and prosperity by the most trustworthy agents. If the Indian Government, which in all the world's history affords the noblest example of power justly and wisely exercised by foreigners over a strange people, believes that certain measures are advisable in Imperial interests, that certain agents are preferable to others in the discharge of difficult and responsible duties, can any justification be found for imposing upon it the tutored will of an ignorant section of the people at home, who, for party purposes, choose temporarily to be the mouthpiece of an altogether insignificant and unrepresentative class in India? It is only by the reiteration of the magic formula, 'India for the Indians,' that the glaring injustice of such a method of control is delicately shaded off.

If politicians could be brought to affirm boldly what surely all but the craziest visionaries must believe, namely, that England, while recognizing to the full her responsibilities to the heterogeneous races of India, while endeavouring to hold the balance of justice with unwavering steadiness and impartiality, while encouraging in every legitimate way the development of the country, and the happiness of its inhabitants, while sternly vigilant to maintain internal peace and repel external aggression, will yet, in the last resort, refer its policy to the test whether it conduces to the well-being of the Empire and the maintenance of English supremacy, then we might reasonably hope to see the ground cut away from under half the most vicious and plausible arguments of the Democrats. So long as it is tacitly conceded that we are in India merely to edify the natives; that our sole desire is to advance every one's interests save our own; that we are humbly awaiting that joyous hour when the trumpet voice of Babudom, or Young India, shall bid us pack our portmanteaux, to betake ourselves back to England with the knowledge that we have ruined an Empire, and acted, consistently to its close, the grandest national farce in the history of the world, just so long shall we find sore difficulty in dispelling the windy sophistries which thickly overcloud the subject.

But, since we arrived at our present position by right of conquest, which it is altogether useless to deny, we might surely claim to continue the dominant power as long as we are able. We might, it seems to me, without doing too much violence to the tenderest consciences ever known, profess to be guided in our policy by the only rule which has yet been recognized by conquering Powers. More especially as, by adhering to that rule, we shall certainly confer upon the majority of our Indian subjects for years to come many more benefits than we can expect to do by cringing to the blatant outcry of an infinitesimal minority. As it happens, at present, there can, I think, be little doubt that, viewing India as a whole, and declining to identify it either with noisy orators or acrid newspaper editors, the true interests of the country are inseparably bound up with a firm, uncompromising preservation of the English supremacy. Nine out of ten popular English concepts of the Government in India and its relations with the subject races are vitiated by an entire misconception of the conditions under which the administration is carried on. We are not here, as the Spaniards in Holland, oppressing a groaning, unanimous nation, with all the qualities of freedmen and all the aspiration of the best races towards freedom We oppress no nationality, because in India there is no nation. We have intervened to keep the peace between races whose inveterate hatred

and internecine struggles have, over and over again, bathed the country in blood from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. We have substituted the fairest and most liberal rule (although people call it a despotism) that any country can at present boast of, for ages of anarchy, insecurity, pillage, rapine, murder and abysmal chaos. Being formerly a nation of brave men, we could sympathize with the Sikhs, the Mahrattas, the Rajputs, the Moslems, and could in turn command their respect. Yet we have never failed to protect the weak against the strong: we hold the balance even, and the timid Hindu may drive his plough and hoard his usurious gains, secure under the Ægis of Government from the harrying of furious Pindarees and lawless Mahrattas. We have propped up the crumbling houses of Rajput chivalry; we have substituted for eternal ruin and war a profound and profitable peace. Ours is the bond which binds the complex parts of the Indian continent; ours is the strong hand which bids each enjoy his own, and respect his neighbour's goods. Loose that iron bond, paralyze that mighty arm, and you prepare a terrible carnival of tyranny, lawlessness, violence and wrong."

And is not the labourer worthy of his hire? Shall we, who have conferred larger blessings on this land in half a century than it was wont to know in half a thousand years, refuse our wage? There is no necessity to be unjust to our subjects—that we have never been. Still less is there any necessity for us to encourage the basest ingratitude, and court injustice at their hands. And that is what we seem over anxious to do.

One of the principal difficulties that has to be surmounted by Anglo-Indians, in mitigating the most senseless and unjust prejudices, is the popular belief at home that this Government rests upon public opinion, and not upon force. Pretermitting for one moment the question whether there is any public opinion in India, it is as well to hear occasionally that there are men of experience in India who are still old-fashioned enough to believe that, under all the specious superstructure of our rule, its real foundations are the bayonets of our soldiers and their good right arms. This must manifestly be a question of opinion, happily for us all so far. But I cannot help thinking that he must, indeed, be sanguine to the verge of fatuity who imagines that our singular virtues have so impressed the people, that not one of them would raise a hand against us, even had we not the grim support we have behind us. You cannot domesticate the tiger or the wolf. The warlike races of India have, in the past, respected the superiority of English prowess, and they have accepted terms, as warriors from warriors. Yet, with few exceptions, they do not love us. Our ways are not their ways; our creed is not theirs; our

very justice galls them; they yearn for the good old days of boot and saddle when every trooper carried his life and fortune at his sword point. We may have whitewashed the Ethiopian to some extent, but the leopard still wears his spots.

If, indeed, our Government rests upon its sympathy with public opinion, it is certainly not that public opinion which finds expression in the vernacular press and on the Radical hustings. It may very fairly be doubted whether there is any public opinion in India. If the phrase means anything, it means a consensus of national sentiment, or at least a major portion of national sentiment. In India a particular school of educated men arrogates to itself the privilege of representing the wishes of the whole mass of the Indian peoples. The claim is so transparently unsustainable that it is hardly necessary to discuss it. Deeply though the Mussulman hates the English infidel, the hate he bears to the effeminate Bengali is deeper still. The causes of difference between the principal races of India lie at the very roots of their characters; nor, as far as human foresight can forecast the years is there the remotest chance of their being eradicated. The Hindu hates the Moslem; Sikh, Rajput, Mahratta, Afghan, with half a hundred subdivided clans, lie couched and quiescent beneath the taming eye of the British Government, but ready to spring at each other's throats the moment that powerful discipline is relaxed. Over such people what influence does the prating product of the schools possess?

No one who has any real experience of the country, would deny that English District Officers are in much closer sympathy with the masses of the rural population, and with all that is chivalrous in India, than the orators of the Congress. The latter have taken on the thinnest veneer of English thought, without the characteristic manly virtues of Englishmen: they despise their caste fellows, and old India despises them. The opinions of Young India are the opinions of the worst form of demagogic Radicalism: the opinions of an incalculably large majority of the Indian peoples present a type of rigid, fossilized Conservatism. If this is true, (and few who know the ryot, the Rajput and the Mussalman, will deny it), it is evident that the Government ought to accept the public opinion of Sabhas, Congresses and the native press with the amplest qualifications.

That opinion represents the ambitions of a set of men who are politically insignificant. It is a very natural and determined effort of extremely clever and ambitious men to push their own fortunes. But it is in no sense the articulate voice of India. It may very well be asked whether Government, which is unable

yet to ascertain the feelings of the masses with any accuracy, ought to refuse even such imperfect assistance as it may derive from the fervid criticisms of the reform party. Ought it to decline the assistance of a few flickering tapers, in reading the dark depths of Indian feeling, because the full light of the sun has not yet shone upon and illumined the Stygian gloom? Certainly not. Every expression of opinion, however imperfect, may always be utilized, if it is appreciated at its proper worth. The mistake which politicians at home fall into, lies in confounding the interested utterances of a very small class of clever men with the true expression of a general wish. Government may feel a mild interest in the aspirations of educated India: in that case, it could not do better than study the programme of the party. But, in guiding the affairs of an Empire so complex, it is absolutely fatal to neglect a due sense of proportion.

It is pleasing to find that Young India would like to absorb most of the lucrative appointments in the country. But that is no very good reason for losing sight of the fact that an enormous mass of the people have an invincible preference for Englishmen, whom they can trust, over Bengalis whom they cannot. In effect, although the Government ought to make, and always does make, the most liberal concessions compatible with paramount imperial interests to the legitimate demands of the educated native, this can be done beneficially only by keeping a steadfast eye upon its superior obligations to the whole population. These are, in the first place, maintaining with strenuous and unflinching courage the integrity of the Empire. It requires no very remarkable gift of prophecy to predict the gigantic evils that would fall upon the country, at any rate for a time, were the British supremacy to collapse. There may come a time in the distant future when the country will develop a national sentiment; when the lion will lie down with the lamb and the little child play with the cockatrice. That will be probably contemporaneously with the world's millennium. And if it ever arrives, the force of circumstances will push us from our proud eminence, without the necessity of any indecent display of zealous co-operation upon our own parts in bringing about our downfall. But till it does come, every dictate of humanity (setting aside for a moment the vulgar considerations of self-interest) bids us imperatively to retain our power.

The second and allied duty of the Government is to maintain the supremacy of the English in India. It is a self-evident proposition that the English are, and ought to be, the main strength of English rule. If they are not, the sooner the national name is consigned to oblivion the better. Nor

can I see any ethical justice in forcing natives into positions of emolument and authority over other natives who despise their characters, their morals, and their creeds. Our domination here is necessarily the domination of aliens; but, when we substitute for the conquering rulers, rulers selected from the most effeminate classes of the conquered, we inflict an injustice not only upon the English nation but upon the country won by them.

Thirdly, in every critical question the determining test should be the interests of England. Where these are in accord (which, happily, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred they are) with the real interests of this country, so much the better: where they are in conflict with them, they should prevail. I use the words interests of England in a general and Imperial sense, and emphatically exclude the petty trade interests of a mercantile ring. Yet, curiously enough, it is precisely the latter that have generally been accepted, to the detriment of Indian trade and fair play, which is only one more convincing proof (if any were needed) of the evils flowing from the control exercised by Party caucuses in England over Anglo-Indian administration. Votes must be secured at home, and the gallery must be played to; even though, in prosecuting these noble aims, wrongs are inflicted, with a charmingly impartial hand, both upon the Indian peoples and upon the English ruling class.

Fourthly, there lies upon the Government an obligation which it has nobly discharged—the obligation of endeavouring, by the diffusion of education, to ameliorate the condition of the masses; to lift them out of the sloughs of tradition and superstition; to set before them higher ideals and wider views. It is at the hands of those who have benefited most by this enlightened and liberal policy that we receive the cruelest and most unjust stabs. We have raised a hornet's nest about our ears. Every schoolboy who has read his Mill and Spencer clamours for a seat at the Council Board, or hatches mean sedition. We are charged with having raised this troublesome spirit before taking counsel how we could best appease its insatiate appetite. Many men of widely divergent political views regard this as a dilemma on one horn or the other of which we must be impaled; while the ever-swelling mob of educated Young India grows daily more and more clamorous. "You have created," say they, "the hunger. See that you quickly appease it with much bread." In other words, Government is roundly abused for educating more men than it can employ in appointments carrying a salary commensurate with the inordinate vanity of the applicants. This is surely unjust.

There are occasionally patrons of art who take a student by the hand; educate him; send him to study in Italy; turn him out a finished painter. Do they deserve gratitude for this? Or do they deserve the most venomous vituperation because they decline to buy at his own price every picture which their young protegée may choose to paint? The case is the same with those whom Government educates. Education is in itself a valuable capital. This, Government freely bestows. Is it then to have no good word: but only virulent abuse, because, having provided a man with a good capital, it declines to pay him interest upon it also?

Fifthly, Government is bound to preserve the liberties of the subject without any regard to race or creed. In this respect even its bitterest adversaries can scarcely find a stone to throw. There is probably no civilized country in the world where the Government is so jealous of the rights of its subjects. Native offenders would be considerably astonished at the summary manner in which justice is meted out at the Police Courts of three capitals at home. Here every proceeding is fenced with safeguards against injustice. And if, in spite of all these precautions, there are yet instances of oppression and venality in the Courts, they are traceable to the employment of that very Native agency which the advanced school would substitute for the British Officers whose lives have afforded the best example of the English conception of judicial integrity. In religious tolerance India stands pre-eminent. Not only is every man allowed absolute freedom, both in belief and observance, but there is, as far as the ruling Power goes, a spirit of calm, impartial toleration, untinged by any social prejudices. No Native, in approaching a European officer, feels the remotest apprehension that his rights will be affected by any religious bias in that officer's mind. In India opinion is far freer than in England, where, though bigots can no longer persecute with fire and sword, they can mark their disapproval of free thought by a fairly powerful social ostracism. Similarly, the Government allows a practically unlimited freedom of public debate and public press criticism.

'The liberty of the press,' ever since the Areopagitica, has been one of England's most treasured watchwords: and he would be a bold man who should brave the storm of disapproval that would follow any attempt to curb the unbridled licence of the worst part of the Vernacular Press. Yet that is a measure in favor of which many cogent reasons can easily be suggested. Those who, having read Milton's splendid appeal and Mill's conclusive essay, consider that the last word has been said on the subject, and that the liberty of the press is an axiomatic right which cannot seriously be disputed,

overlook the peculiar conditions under which it is claimed in India. The whole of Mill's argument goes for nothing because he predicates, as an essential postulate, a free and constitutional Government. In India the Government is despotic—the most benevolent despotism yet recorded. Further, Mill never contemplated the case of a conquered country, ruled by a foreign Power. Starting with these new conditions, it may safely be said that there are at least as good arguments available to support the imposition of some restriction upon seditious utterances, as can be found on the other side.

A press which devotes itself chiefly to seditious utterances against Government; to a persistent vilification of Government officers; to attempts to inflame braver men than the writers, and hurry them into crime and bloody rebellion; surely such a press may be curbed with great propriety. Nor can it be forgotten that these writings are addressed to men who could not understand an English reply, even had they the ability to examine critically the pros and cons of vexed questions. The principal argument in favor of a free press in a free country is that the people can correct the lies uttered in one paper by the truths printed in another. As Milton has it: "Though all the "winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so "Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and pro-"hibiting to misdoubt her strength." But how if the people are debarred by ignorance of his language from hearing the pleadings of Truth's advocate? Where, in fact, a foreign Power holds the reins of Government as we do, and where any uprising of sects could never be a national explosion of a people's pent up aspirations after liberty, albeit its consequences to life, and property, and public security, could scarcely be less disastrous, it is clearly within the province of Government to impose such restrictions upon the printing of seditious matter as may seem advisable in the interests of the general peace. Where a paper persistently mistakes liberty for licence, and uses its influence to excite disaffection against the Government in general and its officers in particular, it might appear to some people to be the plain duty of the Government to interfere and prevent the dissemination of dangerous ideas.

In conclusion, it may be briefly observed that the Government has usually discharged its high functions with absolute singleness of purpose and the loftiest integrity. It is at present passing through a dangerous crisis. No time can be more appropriate for an examination of our position, and the true principles which we ought to keep ever in view, while opposing a stern and uncompromising *non possumus* to the canting hypocrisies of those who would have us forget our

primary duty to our country in the pursuit of moral phantoms. If it is once admitted openly that England holds India principally for herself, and intends to do so as long as she can, with honor and profit; if, in short, we can harden our hearts to substitute "India for England" for "India for the Indians," there is every hope that the frothy babble of the most talkative decade of this century may ultimately be allowed to pass for what it is really worth.

A moment's reflection would convince any impartial foreign politician that England has no alternative in India but to rule or to evacuate. Stripped of all the poetic halo of political hypocrisy, 'India for the Indians' would mean the establishment by British arms of a Brahmin administration. Is the English soldier to be retained as the Babu's mercenary? If not how is the Congress going to consolidate its authority? Unsupported by British arms, no sane man supposes that the talkers of Calcutta could remain in power for a single day. And few even among Radical politicians would like to propose to an assembly of Englishmen, that English troops should be used to support the authority of a set of men who have never yet shown themselves capable of any higher rule than the peaceful ordering of a clerk's desk.

If we are going to quit the country, let us do so without mincing phrases. And let us bear the shame of seeing England decline from an Empire, world renowned, to a fourth-rate European power. But if we have no intention of abandoning India until we are obliged to do so, let us, in the name of common honesty, do ourselves and our subjects justice. Let us not hear any more of this 'India for the Indians,' in other words—India for the astute Babu. Let us, by firm, temperate, just rule, continue to confer upon this land the blessings of peace prosperity, freedom, and progress; but let us do it as Englishmen, for England.

F. C. O. BEAMAN.

## ART. IV.—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HINDUISM.*

### *III.—Who are the Hindus?*

WE have shown, and we hope we have succeeded in proving almost to demonstration, that Hinduism is what the Hindus, or the major portion of the people in a Hindu community, do; or, in other words, that Hinduism is not locked up in a book, believed to have been revealed, and does not consist of a set of religious beliefs, but is composed of certain usages and customs, which have always been changing and variable, and that the usages and customs prevalent in a Hindu community at a particular date have formed the Hinduism of that date; but the question remains—who are the Hindus? The particular congeries of usages and customs called Hinduism in the Madras Presidency may not be the Hinduism of Bengal. They differ essentially, yet both are Hinduism, and recognised as such, because they form the usages adopted by the particular Hindu community of these parts; and though, therefore, there need be no universality in what is known as Hinduism in its unessential parts, it follows that there is something universal throughout India, which distinguishes a Hindu from a non-Hindu, and which, being distinguished from changing and vanishing usages, remains alone, as the unchanging basis in our ideas of Hinduism and Hindu; we shall thus get at the essential characteristic which will help us in defining the generic name. We have not in our last two chapters clearly defined the essential characteristic involved in our idea of the word Hindu, though we have sufficiently indicated what it is.

To ascertain who are the Hindus of this or any other time, it is not necessary for us to go to the past, or to refer to the Vedas, Shastras or Puranas; though a reference to the past might be of some help to test the correctness of the meaning of the term, when we have determined it by a reference to facts and ideas of the present day.

Now, so far as the term is understood at present, it embraces all those people, settled or domiciled in Hindustan, who are neither Christians, Mahomedans nor Parsis. We have shown that the Jains in India are no longer considered non-Hindus; and the few Buddhists to be found in the Monastic orders of India are respected by Hindus as Hindu ascetics. Perhaps

* Continued from No. CLXXX, for April 1890, page 341.

even this definition to which we come by negation, as applicable to the Hindus of the present day, might not suit a few years hence, when a settled domicile in Hindustan may not be regarded as an essential idea in the interpretation of the term, and when possibly Hindus will remain Hindus even when they have settled outside India, as they certainly even now continue to be, though migrating to Burmah, or to one of the islands of the Pacific. Broadly speaking, however, the negative idea stands good for the present. But when we say that all people domiciled in India, who are not Christians, Musulmans, or Parsis, are Hindus, do we mean that there is anything in their religious beliefs which would exclude these people from those from whom they are thus distinguished? We say no. Suppose a Hindu were to believe in the revelation of the Bible, the doctrine of the Trinity, that of original sin and eternal damnation, the atonement and salvation through faith in a Saviour, he would be a Christian, but would not cease to be a Hindu, so long as he continued to be a member of the Hindu caste to which he belongs. So he would be a Musulman by simply believing in the Kulma (words) "God is Great and Mahomet is his prophet;" but he would not cease to be a Hindu as long as he was not thrown out of the pale of caste.

Here, then, is the essential characteristic which distinguishes the Hindu, from the non-Hindu, races of India. All people who are known as Hindus are divided into castes, and there are no people incorporated with the Hindu system, who do not belong to some caste or other. The Hindu system is therefore a hierarchy of caste, and those who belong to this hierarchy of caste are Hindus.

What is this caste? We discover what it is at the present date by reference to the caste requirements: (1) A Hindu belonging to any one caste must not partake of certain kinds of food cooked by any one else but a member of his caste, or sometimes one of the superior caste. (2) A Hindu must not marry outside his own caste. (3) A Hindu must admit that he belongs to stratum so and so, whilst in the highest stratum are the Brahmins. (4) A Hindu must abide by the rules of his caste, as to the marriageble age of girls, as to widow remarriage and going to sea, and as to prohibited food.

These requirements may be considered as almost general, though there have been exceptions prevalent from the olden times, which exceptions, the careful reader of the Hindu system will notice, were already there before the action of the progressive tendencies of the present age. Thus, for instance, as regards (1):—The Sikhs, who are now incorporated with the Hindu system, must partake of the *Amrit*—ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ—when

presented to one of the chief Durbars, whoever may present it, and with all sorts of people, irrespective of caste (the religion in its days of purity, having been a negation of caste, and the springing up of a Hindu brotherhood in its absence). The Chaitanya Vaisnavas, who, in the vigor of their early growth, rebelled against caste, have still their Mahatsabs, (মহোৎসব) when a Brahmin may not with any decency refuse to partake of food cooked by a Byragi whatever might have been the caste to which he originally belonged, or touched by any other Vaisnava, whatever his caste. At the Juggernath Khetra (Puri), food (rice, dál, vegetable curries and the rest), after it has been presented as offerings, is sold at open stalls, and it does not matter who touches it, or who sells it. The sensualism of the Tantras disdains caste, and caste rules amongst the tantrics (তান্ত্রিক) are allowed to be so far relaxed that the *Bhairabi chakra* (ভৈরবী চক্র), an assembly of elites, admit into their number people of all castes, who eat and drink without any restriction. As regards (2) we have a notable exception in some of the districts of Eastern Bengal, where Vaidyas, Kayestas and Shahus (Vaisyas or Sunris) intermarry. It is curious that such marriages are not "Anulum (অনুলোম)" in form, as they ought to have been if they were the relics of ancient Hindu custom still subsisting in these parts of the country, but are always "Pritilum (প্রতিলোম)," and, as such, must have sprung up as an innovation in later times. They are of the sort which Akbar found it not difficult to introduce in his day, between the royal family of Delhi and the Rajput chiefs. The bride came from the Rajput family into the harem of the Mughal, but a Rajput bridegroom never took a Mahomedan wife; so a Vaidya girl bride goes to a Kayestha or Sunfi house, but a girl of these latter castes is not espoused by a Vaidya. These marriages are distinctly against the rule of intermarriages permitted by the Shastras, but nevertheless, they are considered fully valid and binding, and are even looked upon with approbation, and the offspring of such marriages have all the rights of the offspring of marriages in the same caste. The rule appears to have been reversed for the simple reason that a girl gone out of the family does not affect the family, if she no longer enter the kitchen and her father's family have not to take food touched by her, a matter considerably easier than for a Hindu to have a wife, and children by such wife, food cooked or touched by whom he would not be permitted to take. This rule would be exactly reversed in taking for wife a woman of a superior caste, for in this case the husband or his kinsman could have no objection to take food cooked or touched by her. Thus, in this instance, the requirement No. 1 has, by its greater rigidity at the present date,

or rather at the date when relaxation came to be introduced in requirement No. 2, affected the rule of the Shastras and brought on an innovation the like of which could not be justified by reference to any text. As regards (3): Relaxation has sprung up from time to time, though the Brahmins have, as a rule generally held their own A notable instance of this relaxation is the supremacy which the Gyali Pundas, though not Brahmins, have always maintained over the Brahmins, and the priestly authority which the Srikounda (শ্রীখণ্ড) Gossains (গোস্বামী) of the Vaisnava sect in Lower Bengal, belonging to the medical caste (Vaidyas), have exercised over their Brahmin disciples. As regards (4): There is a greater degree of variableness here than in the case of the other three rules amongst different races in India in different parts of the country, and no common ground can be traced except that each community has its own rules on the subject, and these rules are often so rigid in their application for the present that the slightest infringements have resulted in forfeiture of caste. We shall notice the exceptions with the rules.

Before noticing the differences prevailing in different parts of India in all these fourfold aspects of caste, to some extent the result of changes within recent times; the causes that have induced these changes; where further changes are possible and should be allowed to grow; and when the changes should cease, it may not be quite out of place to examine the historical development of caste as an institution in India in the light of the accepted results of researches made by scholars.

Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his admirable work on the Civilization of Ancient India, proceeds on these data to lay down that there was no caste in the Vedic period, dating from 2000 B. C. to 1400 B. C; that caste, as an institution in India, began to grow in the latter end of the epic period, dating from 1400 B. C. to 1000 B. C. with the growth of the influence of priesthood, and the splendour of the royal courts; that it attained a further development in the period dating from 1000 B. C. to 242 B. C.; that it suffered from a revolution during the Buddhist period, dating from 242 to 500 A. D., and that it assumed its present rigidity of form during the fifth or Puranic epoch, dating from 500 A. D to 1194 A. D.

From the rules of caste as laid down in the Sanhitas we find—

*1st.*—Monopoly of learning by dwijas (দ্বিজ), especially the Brahmins.

*2nd.*—Increase of ceremonials, the Brahmins alone officiating at the ceremonies, and the assertion and maintenance of the supremacy of Brahmins.

*3rd.*—Allotment and division of work among the different castes.

*4th.*—Touch, contamination and Praschit.

*5th.*—Interdict of marriages in certain ways.

*6th.*—The lowest position of the Sudras.

Now compare the above with modern caste, as prevalent throughout India at the present date. (1) :—It will be seen that though, as we shall show subsequently, the Brahmins still maintain their superiority as regards learning, the monopoly now nowhere exists. (2) :—The ceremonials have been limited within rational bounds, and though the Brahmins even now officiate at them, the Brahminical supremacy no longer exists in any very offensive form, and, as we shall show later on, it has been materially affected by the iconoclastic influences of the age. (3) :—The same tendencies are silently affecting the rigidity of the rule under which each caste was separately attached to its work. (4) :—The rules on the subject, unless it be with respect to matters of food, are now, excepting to some extent in the Madras Presidency, more honoured in the breach than in the observance. (5) :—There has been a greater rigidity growing in the interdict of marriages. (6) :—The position of the Sudras has greatly improved and is daily improving.

We shall next explain generally the causes of the differences existing in the fourfold aspect of caste, *i. e.* the four requirements noted above, in different parts of the country.

Now, nothing is more common, as we have shown previously, than a divergence of customs in different parts of India, or even in different Hindu communities living in the same parts of the country. What is considered a Hindu custom in one part of the country, is considered wholly un-Hindu in another. It is hard to conceive when there could have been uniformity amidst these divergencies; when it could have been that Manava Shastras (Institutes of Manu) used to guide the Hindus in every part of India, in all the rules of life. Whatever uniformity might have at one time existed, when the original Aryans had not yet crossed the Sutledge, it must have given place to divergencies when the Aryans began to settle in different parts of India, and consciously or unconsciously to imbibe the manners and customs of the people amongst whom they settled, and accommodated themselves to climatic influences and their physical surroundings. The same process which Indianised Europeans in days anterior to the present, must have greatly modified the Aryanism of the ancient Aryans; and the Hindu system, as we have seen in the previous part of this article, has been always more eclectic, and favourable for the adoption and incorporation of changes, than European systems have. Then, the aboriginal races, when they

became Hinduised, must have retained many of their ancient customs and usages. This accounts for divergencies; but not for all that we mark in different parts of India. Some of the divergencies have arisen quite within historical times, owing to influences which can be distinctly traced, as, for instance, the great modification of *sooth* (contamination by touch) in Northern India, which apparently dates from the time when the influence of the Mahomedans came to be felt.

The changes are even now daily growing, owing to the influences around, and not uniformly in different parts of the country. The Hindus undoubtedly are a conservative race, but not to the extent that is ordinarily supposed. In the ancient village communities of India an unwritten body of customary laws are observed, the origin of which is traced to the remotest times, and it is hence argued that the village communities have been always governed by usages and customs which have never changed. It is true that some usages and customs, favoring the growth of social organization of the kind prevalent in ancient times, and possibly having their earliest origin in this country, are yet found undying in certain parts of India, but with the growth of towns, with the disintegration of patriarchcal families, with the growth of our modern land laws, revenue laws, sale laws, the so-called undying customs are fast dying out; and changes have gone on and will still continue to go on in accordance with the genius of the race, the surroundings of their position, and the climatic conditions under which they live.

Now from this digression to the subject in hand. As regards the first requirement of caste; that (1.) *A Hindu belonging to any one caste must not partake of certain kinds of food cookea by any one else but a member of his caste, or sometimes by one of the superior caste;* the rule of prohibited food must be taken to be still narrower. Brahmins, for instance, of Behar, can not partake of food (rice and dâl) cooked by a Brahmin of Bengal, though of the same caste, nor can a Brahmin of Madras or Bombay do the same honor to his brethren of Bengal or Behar. The Bengal Brahmin, more saturated now with the progressive tendencies of the age, can, without offending caste prejudices, partake of food cooked by any Brahmin in India; but, with this exception, a Brahmin of one part of the country would not partake of food cooked by a Brahmin of a different part of the country. The same may be broadly stated to be the case with all other castes passing by the same name in different parts of the country, and when there are sub-sections of the same caste, the present prohibition against partaking of cooked food applies as well to those different sub-sections as to different castes. Thus it is not the

rule for the twelve different sections of Kayesthas in Northern India to partake of each other's food; and, though perhaps the different sub-sections of Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kayesthas in Bengal treat each other more liberally in this respect, the Vedic Brahmins and Utter Rarhi (উত্তর রাঢ়ী) Kayesthas there still stand aloof from the other Brahmins and Kayesthas.

The rule, restricted in the way above indicated, is not, however, the same all over India as regards the kind of food, or the kind of touch (sooth) it shall bar.* Throughout India,* except in Madras, there are certain castes, water touched by whom can be used by the other castes (Brahmins included). They are *Jal Chal* (জল চল)—people whose water can be used; and below them are castes which are *Achal* (অচল)—people whose water cannot be used. *Jal Chal* and *Achal* are Bengali words of Sanskrit origin, and we have taken the liberty of using the words, as the corresponding idea in other parts of India is not expressed in a word, but by a periphrasis. Whether the Bengalis, old and young, should take it as a compliment or otherwise, we do not know, but they are all (their Brahmins inclusive), unless in very rare instances, now generally regarded as *Achal* by the rest of India. The line is drawn with such classes as Gowalas throughout India, Navasak in Bengal, below whom come the vast mass of Hindus who, though Hinduised, that is to say, though they form strata of the hierarchy of castes, are relegated to a position outside the sacred pale. Are they content with this position? There is no open rebellion; and others, mostly hill tribes, have been known, almost within historic times, to come in and take their position in the lowest stratum, but, as we shall show, there is a general attempt at upheaval which is very hopeful. Broadly stated, the sacred pale, as we have indicated it, ceases, with half-a-dozen castes below the Kayesthas in every part of India. Not only can water touched by these people be used, but their services as domestic servants of a better sort are acceptable as well; the Brahmin priests officiate at their ceremonials, and the Brahmins accept their gifts. In Madras, however, Brahmins can be served only by Brahmins, even to the extent of fetching water, and cleansing their houses. Except in Bengal, and in the Madras Presidency, it is allowable for all Hindus, Brahmins not excepted, to partake of all kind of food—puris পূরী,) tarkaris

* In the frontier districts of Punjab and in Cashmere the distinction did not exist before the last twenty-five years, and even a Brahmin could use water fetched by a Mohamadan Bhisti in his *mussuck* for all purposes. A closer contact with Mohamadans and the growth of Sikhism, possibly the conservation of the usage as it prevailed amongst the ancient Aryans, between whom and the Afghans of the time on the other side there could hardly be any difference, account for this." A closer relationship with the Hindus of other parts of India has now, within the memory of man, affected the usage.

(তরকারী), meat preparations of sorts, as also sweets prepared by any one of these castes, with the exception of cooked rice (bhât) and (dâl). In Bengal, however, all classes, except one or two, who seem to have rebelled against Brahminical sway, and whose case we shall specially notice hereafter, take all kinds of food prepared by Brahmins. In Northern India, amongst certain superior classes, the rule would not allow *bhât* and *dâl* prepared by Brahmins, or by any one else not belonging to the caste, to be taken. In all parts of India, except Bengal, Hindus and Musulmans smoke, with different hukas, of course, in the same farash (ফরাস), eat fruits together, and even sweets. The Punjabis and Cashmiri Brahmins are more tolerant of touch than other Hindus. The Mahomedan servants can carry from one place to another all kinds of their food (*bhat* and *dâl* included) if the vessels containing this food is wrapped up in a piece of *kambal* (woollen rug), or fastened to one end of a stick, the other end of which the bearer uses in carrying the load. It is doubtless a relic of ancient Aryan custom, affected by the fiction of a barrier of *kambal* and wood, (কাষ্ঠ) introduced by the Sanhitas. One section of Kayesthas in Upper India (Saksena Kayesthas) employ Mahomedan servants in their households, as hukabardars, and their taste in the matter of food, and conspicuously in the use of household utensils, is distinctly Mahomedan.

In Bengal, as we have already seen notwithstanding the rigidity of the earlier rules, almost all castes now tolerate the partaking of food prepared by one of inferior caste, and even by Mlechas and Musulmans, and even at the same table with them. In a few years more, when the influence of the educated classes shall have filtered down, as it promises very soon to do, it is probable, the so-called reaction notwithstanding, it will grow to be the rule, and not the infraction.

We said that below the classes whose touched water can be used, come in the castes *Achal* (অচল), comprising the vast mass of Hindus, not less than two-thirds of the entire Hindu race, who, though Hinduised, that is to say, though they form the lowest strata of the hierarchy of caste, are relegated to a position outside the sacred pale. Whether these were not the original inhabitants of the country, who, after resisting the Brahminical influence as long as they could, were subsequently incorporated with the Hindu system, is an enquiry not pertinent to our present purpose. The question with which we are concerned is, whether they are content with their present position. They have always given the greatest number of converts to new religious systems introduced into India, and unquestionably, in times gone by, they have rebelled against Brahminical supremacy. We have a few instances showing much discontent

in the social history of Bengal within the last few years. Only a few years ago, a chief of an independent Native State expressed such discontent with the position which his family and tribe, admitted by all to be Hindus, held among the Hindus of Bengal, and spent lakhs of rupees to bribe Pundits, and to maintain a party which he had succeeded in securing, and which promised to assist in getting him within the sacred pale. The attempt, through rousing some of the worst passions of men, in a *Dalladali* in East Bengal, ultimately failed.

Perhaps here there would have been a better chance of success by a manly revolt, as we find from the following:—The Jogis (the lower classes of weavers) who, unlike other Hindu castes in Bengal, bury their dead, revolted in a body against Brahminical supremacy. They declare that they are Brahmins, that they are entitled to the sacred thread and to all consideration due to Brahmins, and they have, by a unanimous resolution of the body, resolved to throw out of caste any one who shall partake of food prepared by any other caste, Brahmins included, or use water touched by them. A similar war has been declared by the *chundals* of East Bengal against the tyranny of the superior castes. There are also many other general attempts at the upheaval of the masses, though not in such a bold form, amongst the other castes. In Bengal the Kayesthas, who, though generally regarded as Sudras, are one of the three superior classes forming the Bhadralog (gentlemen community), and who, from their present proud position of intellectual superiority, general attainments and wealth, might perhaps have done without a fresh accession of power, attempted to get themselves ranked as Kshetrias, to wear the sacred thread, and to curtail the period of mourning from 30 days to 15. The attempt collapsed, perhaps as unnecessary. Similar attempts have been made in Behar and the North-Western Provinces by Kayesthas, Kurmis, Kairis and other castes, under the influence of the teachings of the late Pandit Dyanund Saraswati, and such an attempt has been very successful amongst the *Audha* Kurmis of Behar. By an unanimous resolution of the third Kayesth Conference, held at Bankipur, in November last, carried with acclamation, the Chittragupti Kayesthas of India declared themselves to be Khettrias and Dwijas (দ্বিজ.)

Such movements, where you level up, and not down, as most of our modern reformers do, appealing, as they do, at once to the *esprit de corps* of a whole community, should meet with the encouragement of all educated men, and a desire to rise should be stirred up wherever such a feeling is wanting.

We find, therefore, that other parts of India, except Bengal and Madras, still follow the ancient rule under which food

cooked by the Sudras was not prohibited to be taken by the three regenerate classes, but have drawn a line in the classes comprising the Sudras of the present date, below which they regard touch as contamination; that they do not observe the *sooth*, as the orthodox Bengalis do, with regard to Mussalmans, so far as partaking of fruit, sweets, lemonades and iced creams and the smoking of hukahs, are concerned; that there is almost a successful revolt in Bengal against the rigidity of *sooth*; that this revolt will bring the Hindus of Bengal of the present date to a point nearer the injunctions of the Shastras in this matter; and outside Bengal, where the *sooth* principle was never so strong, it is hoped, from the partaking of fruit, sweets and iced cream together, to the partaking of dinner together at one farash (ফরাশ, or table, will be but a step, and that it will not take long to introduce the change, which as we have said, will bring them nearer to the ancient Shastras, and thus one distinctive feature of modern caste, which is surely a great bar to the growth of fellowship and of a united people, will be done away with.

(2) *Interdict of Marriage amongst Members of different Castes.* A Hindu must not marry outside his own caste; this is the second requirement of caste—a requirement the breach of which is never tolerated by the Hindus, who consider the conservation of their caste system, nay, even their Hinduism, to be dependent on the rigid observance of the rule. On the other hand, it was only the other day that a Vice-Chancellor observed, in the course of his annual Convocation speech before the assembled Senators and graduates of our universities, that India could never rise as a nation unless and until this interdict to marriages was done away with.

We shall examine facts, here, as elsewhere. In countries and amongst nations in which, and with whom, the interdict does not prevail, the rule is that ordinarily one seeks his wife in his own neighbourhood; marriages between distinct nationalities, or in very distant places, are exceptions, and not the rule. Amongst certain classes of Mussalmans of the Shiah sect the rule is never to go out of the family. These people are distinctly endogamous, if not for the reason which originally made people endogamous, for a reason akin to it—their dislike to let the daughter's share of the heritage go out of the family. Amongst the Mahomedans of India generally the rule is for marriages to take place amongst the same *Kuff* (কুফ). Now a Kuff comprises Mahomedans of the same class, Sheikh, Syed or Malik Patan, living in a given number of villages. Marriages out of Kuff are considered *mesalliances*. The largeness of the Hindu population has also to be taken into consideration. There are castes which contain populations that would be equal to

the present population of England, and exceed the population of Ireland, Scotland or Arabia in the rates of two to one. Amongst Hindus, caste rules do not, of course, interdict marriages amongst the same caste, or, in certain cases, between sections of the same caste, comprising, ordinarily, hundreds of thousands of families It is true that there are certain families, such as, in Bengal, families of Kulins, who would not descend to those who are not Kulins, and in other part of India where Kulinism does not prevail, there are certain families amongst whom considerations—not exactly caste considerations—prevail, restricting marriages to certain families of the same rank. It is also true to some extent, that people of the same caste who live in different parts of the country do not ordinarily intermarry. The Brahmins of Bengal do not intermarry with Brahmins of other parts of the country, nor the Kayesthas and other castes of Bengal with their respective castes in other parts of India. Again, amongst Brahmins of Bengal, the Rahri Brahmins do not intermarry with the Varendras, or the Vaidics, or the Deccanese (Dakhinatwas). The Ballal Seni Vaidhyas, who live in East Bengal, do not intermarry with the Lakhsman Seni Vaidhyas of Western Bengal, and the Kayesthas of Bengal, who are sub-divided into four classes, (Utter Rahri, Dakhin Rahri, Bangojo and Barendro) do not of course intermarry. In Upper India, amongst the twelve sub-sections of the Kayesthas, intermarriage is interdicted. A Srivasthan cannot marry an Ambast, nor a Mathur a Saksena, and so on. The Rajputs have rules of their own, based more on family considerations than considerations of caste. In Bengal, again, Kulinism, now dying fast, except amongst the Brahmins, made marriages more restricted, and amongst Bengal Brahmins, for the purposes of marriage, the Kulin and Bangsoj are almost two distinct castes ; only the Bangsoj enjoys the privilege which he oftentimes buys at considerable sacrifice of wealth and of comfort to all the members of his family, of marrying his daughter to a Kulin Brahmin, by which process, however, he does not raise himself in the social scale, but only brings down his Kulin son-in-law to the rank of Bangsoj. Except amongst the Kulin Brahmins,—and even amongst them, necessity having given rise to some amount of relaxation of the rigid rules, polygamy is now growing out of date, and a better state of things is springing up,—no practical difficulty is felt amongst the castes in the matter of marriage. The rules of consanguinity (prohibited degrees), more extended among the Hindus than among any other race in the world, are observed almost amongst all the castes, with, of course, some local variations, which always, with few exceptions, tend to make the prohibitions more extended. Thus certain castes in Behar (Babhuns amongst others) do not marry in the

Gotra of their maternal grandfather. This, of course, is a limit within a limit, exogamy within endogamy, and exogamy to an extent hardly justifiable in its nature ; and, perhaps, if the Hindus were left to themselves in the matter, the exogamous limit would be narrowed, and there would be a change before long in the rule under which marriages amongst persons of the same Gotra in the upper classes are at present prohibited. The Gotra restrictions do not prevail amongst the lower classes, some of them not having a Gotra of their own, that is to say, not having included themselves with any of the Rishi Gotras. The interdict amongst the Hindus, therefore, does not mean consanguineous marriages ; and, from the populousness of the caste it does not practically narrow the field of selection (the power of selection being in the parents and there being no love marriages) to any appreciable or mischievous extent. Where, however, any real difficulties have been felt, the Hindus have not been behindhand in solving the problem for themselves in their own way. We do not speak of marriages amongst the Bangsoj Brahmins of East Bengal, who are allowed by their caste men in this respect an amount of latitude which introduces into their body wives from almost all castes, who, by a fiction, pass as Brahmin girls ; but in this connection we speak of intermarriages amongst the Vaidhyas, Kayesthas and Sahus (Vaisyas or Sunris) in the district of Sylhet, and amongst Vaidhyas and Kayesthas of the neighbouring district of Chittagong and Tipperah, noticed above. In this case we find that, while the paucity of the numbers of these particular sorts (especially the highest) in the districts in question has made them relax the rule of caste as regards marriages, the *sooth* (touch) contamination rule, stronger than ever it was in ancient India, has intervened to prevent their introducing the ancient and orthodox custom of Anulom marriages. We have also seen how the Vaisya Jains intermarry with the Vaisya Visnavas, the ritual in such cases being entirely Hindu, and the Brahmin priests officiate in the ceremony, no matter whether the bridegroom is Vaisnava, or *vice versâ*. The change here, if not as great as that implied in the marriage of Hindus and Mahomedans without loss of caste, very nearly carries the Hindus to a departure of that nature. Mixed marriages are also very common among the Bairagi Vaisnavas in Bengal, who do not pertain to any particular caste, except that the Bairagis, whose numbers find fresh accessions from all the castes in Bengal, are now being regarded by the Hindus as forming a caste by themselves. Marriages here, again, are mostly love marriages. In Upper India, the illegitimate offspring, called Krisna Pakshis, are still forming themselves into distinct castes, sometimes according to the similarity of their birth,

though it is not uncommon to find the Krisna Pakshis of a father of similar caste, but of mothers belonging to dissimilar castes, marrying amongst themselves. In the early days of the Mahomedan conquest and settlement in India, the Mahomedans, who could not have all travelled to India with their wives, must have, to a very large extent, taken Hindu women, mostly perhaps of inferior caste, to wife, and the race of Eurasians has sprung up within the last 100 years from the connection of Europeans with the women of the country. Here, too, the same rule has prevailed. There are no cases known in which *Hindus themselves* have taken a Mahomedan or a European to wife and yet continued to be Hindus. At the present day the Brahmos of Bengal, who, though originally Hindus and belonging to some one caste, do not profess to respect caste, have introduced intermarriages among themselves, and a special Act of the Legislature (Act III of 1872) sanctions such marriages, if registered under the Act. There are, perhaps, from three to four hundred marriages registered under the Act, which, sanctioning as it does most of the reforms which, with few reservations, are considered desirable by all educated men in India, marriages at proper ages, monogamy, intermarriages, widow marriages—would have been much more popular if there were not an inherent defect in it (borne of unmeaning opposition, to which the legislature in a weak moment yielded) under which persons marrying under the Act have to declare that they are not Hindus, &c., &c. Whether the addition of a ninth legitimate form of marriage amongst the Hindus to the forms most of which are now obsolete, in a permissive way, would be an interference with the Hindu law of marriages, is a question with which we are now not concerned. If a strong body of Hindus desire to have such a relief, we do not see why the Legislature should deny it them; but, at any rate, when the Legislature thought itself competent to enact such laws as the Dalhousie Act of 1850 and the Widow Marriage Act of 1856, and did not think that they were an interference with Hindu Law, or breaches of pledge, we do not see why it should be thought that to enact such a permissive civil law of marriage, applicable to all classes alike, would be an interference. *Nolens volens*, Bengalis who have visited England have to marry under the Act, and to declare, without perhaps attaching much importance to the declaration, yet nevertheless against their wishes, that they are not Hindus. But in a recent case a coach-and-four was driven through the very existence of the Act, so far as this class is concerned, under the Presidency of His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagram, and the *elite* of Calcutta Society, assisted by the Pundits of Bhatpara. We refer to the marriage of the daughter of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee

with Dr. U. C. Mookerjea, of Her Majesty's Medical Service. Let us hope that our other England-returned Bengalis may prove as cautious a reformer as Surendra Nath Bannerjee, and as anxious to keep touch with the Hindus as he. But we want the Act, nevertheless, in the amended form noted above, as the ultimate goal to which Hindu reformers ought to reach. The facts stated above show that, wherever necessity has arisen, intermarriages have taken place, but that such marriages have been *pritilom* in form.

Perhaps necessity has also arisen for further commingling of caste in this matter of marriage, and a cautious reform, which would doubtless meet with popular approval, would be the bringing about of marriages between distinct sections of the same caste.* Thus there are twelve sub-sections of Kayesthas in Northern India, and as many sections of Brahmins. In Bengal there are three sub-divisions of Brahmins, four of Kayesthas, three of Vaidyas. This last caste, which, according to the census of 1872, counted 96,000 souls, counts only 92,000 according to the census of 1882, and for marriage purposes this population of 92,000 men divides itself into three sections, and the division causes much inconvenience. This inconvenience is being felt by all the people composing the caste, and if the educated leaders were only to try, an amalgamation might be easily brought about. Bringing about marriages between members of the same caste in different provinces ought not to be at all difficult. This, surely, would not be intermarriage, but a cautious progress towards that end, and on lines on which intermarriage may be a desirable change, acceptable to the people of India.

The *Anulom* is the form in accordance with the Shastras; the *Pritilom* has been the form in practice wherever inter-marriages do now exist, except amongst Rahri Bangsoj Brahmins of Bengal. The cautious reformer will find that the *Anulom* form is the form that will be more readily acceptable, and even if intermarriages do take place on any extensive scale, the *amour propre* of the caste will assert itself by adopting *Anulom* and discarding the *Pritilom* form of marriage.

(3.) *The Supremacy of Brahmins in the Hierarchy of Caste.* A Hindu must admit that he belongs to stratum so and so, whilst in the highest stratum are the Brahmins. This is true, with but slight exception. The exception, however, proves the rule. The Jains and Sikhs, though incorporated with the Hindu system, do not admit the supremacy of the Brahmins

* There has already come into existence a *Rahri Bango Sanmilini Sobha*, the professed object of which is to bring an amalgamation amongst the *Rahris* and *Bangos* of Bengal.

Nevertheless, it is the case that these people have a distinct place assigned to them in the hierarchy of caste by the Brahmins and the adherents of the Brahminical system, and, by accepting the place assigned as a condition of incorporation with the Hindu system, they tacitly admit the superior position which the Brahmins occupy in the hierarchy. That these Brahmins, except in certain parts of the country, were always, and still are, the most intelligent people amongst the Hindus does not admit of a doubt. In Bengal they have taken the fullest advantage of the opportunities for progress presented to them, while their progress in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies ranks them among the foremost of the people in those parts of the country, and though their progress in other parts of India, especially Behar, has not been so rapid, yet, relatively to other castes, they have not been intellectually backward. It is, however, in advanced Bengal that Brahminical supremacy has always been of the strongest kind. The worship of innumerable clay images of gods and goddesses in Bengal, unlike that in any other part of the country, may have tended to keep up the supremacy, or that supremacy may have given rise to these innumerable Pujahs. It is also possible that these causes acted and reacted on each other. In Bengal, again, as in the rest of India, Sanscrit learning has been almost the monopoly of the Brahmins, and some of them have been exceptionally learned in Smritis and Naya. Whatever little sign of scholarship we find in Bengal in the vernacular language of the Province in the Mahomedan period, we find confined almost exclusively to the Brahmins. From Vidyapati to Bharat Chandra and Kirtibas, all the Bengali poets, except one or two, were Brahmins, and it is one of them who has been the greatest of religious reformers in India. The Brahmins of Bengal have never touched the *amour propre* of the other literate classes, who are here known as Bhadralog (gentlemen), and the influence of the Brahmin, exercised in conjunction with these classes, has maintained the hierarchy in a more developed form in Bengal than elsewhere in India. The institution of the Family Guru and Purohit in a more rigid form than elsewhere also serves to preserve the Brahminical influence in Bengal. In Behar, where the Buddhistic system long prevailed, the Brahminical influence is the least felt, excepting in the Mithila country, where, perhaps, Buddhism was never very strong. Except in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and excluding certain classes of Brahmins in Upper India, who have been progressing and keeping pace with the altered spirit of the times, such as the Kashmiri Pundits, elsewhere in India the Brahmins are regarded as poor beggars, to whom it is a merit, on occasions of Shradh and religious ceremonies,

to give food and alms. They do not form a body politic with the other castes, as in Bengal, nor an exclusive class who disdain other classes, as in Madras.

We shall analyse into its component parts the idea of Brahminical supremacy in Bengal, as it is the strongest of its kind in India; but it is to be distinctly understood that the exercise of the various acts comprised in this complex idea in touch with the Brahmins as a body is confined simply to a few of the upper classes, whose number cannot exceed more than a fourth of the population of India; for, as to the rest, they are beneath the touch of the Brahmins, and scarcely any connection exists between them and the Brahmins as a class, except perhaps, that under the recognised Hindu system of the hierarchy of caste, one occupies the position at the apex, the other occupies the position at the base. These component parts are:—

*(1st.)*—Having to send for the family priests or any of the class in cases of all Pujahpat, (পূজাপাঠ) and all ceremonies in a Hindu's life, beginning with Jatakarma (birth ceremony) and ending with the Shradh, as also at times of all Parvas and annual Shradhs.

*(2nd.)*—Having to send for the family Guru for the purpose of initiation, and having to send for him from time to time to keep up the spiritual growth.

*(3rd.)*—Having to feed a number of Brahmins, beside the family priest and Guru, at all Pujahpat and ceremonies

*(4th.)*—The encouragement of Sanscrit learning for those who can afford to do so, by bringing an assemblage of Pandits and making presents to each according to his rank.

(5*th.*)—Acknowledgment of Brahminical supremacy, by all other castes, by having to bow down to Brahmins and receiving their Asirbad (আশীর্ব্বাদ) (benediction) in return.

The duty of sending for the family priest in all ceremonies, as required by head No. 1 of the above analysis; the duty of sending for the family Guru for the purpose of initiation, as required by head No. 2; the duty of acknowledging the supremacy of the Brahmins by bowing down to them, as in heading No. 5, are also required of the Achals; but the Brahmins who officiate as their priest (1) lose touch with their fellow Brahmins. The Vaisnava Gossamis alone act as their Guru, (2) proving perhaps that there was no recognised Hindu method of initiation for them in Bengal before the days of Chaitanya. Bowing down (head No. 5) requires no touch whatever, but the Pariahs in

the Presidency of Madras are denied even this. There is also a distinction observed among the *jal chal* (জলচল) class who are not Bhadralog, as regards the privilege of feeding Brahmins. As a privilege, it is very restricted.

The first heads of duties in the above analysis are also required of the Brahmins, only in their case, the Guru and Purohit are of their own caste, and the Brahmins whom they have to feed, are all their own kinsmen. The five requirements used to keep up the Brahmin's power in social matters, and still serve to maintain it. The Guru and Purohit must act with their brother Brahmins; they must marry amongst other Brahmins and must always keep touch with them; and they would have, *nolens volens*, to cease to act as Guru and Purohit, if their caste people insisted on their so doing, because of the social offending of any one of those in whose houses they minister, and a Hindu cannot keep touch with his caste people if such ministrations cease. The influence of the whole body of Brahmins over the *jal chal* castes, especially the class known as Bhadralog in Bengal, is thus kept up through the Guru and Purohit. Sometimes, too, the general body of Brahmins possess a good deal of influence either owing to their having wealth, or on the ground of the ignorance and prejudices of people around; so that, virtually, excepting in cases where the social influence of some other caste predominates in a particular locality—and this too, is only possible by the influence in other respects which the caste can exercise over the Brahmins—the Brahmins are masters of the situation almost throughout Bengal. They can make a Hindu a non-Hindu, and a non-Hindu a Hindu, if all or even a large majority of them choose to do so. If the Brahmins were to set their faces against a certain movement, there would not be much chance of its permeating the masses, and if they were to set their faces against an individual, he must succumb if he chose to continue a Hindu. The family idol (Salgram) would remain unworshipped if peace were not to be made with the Brahmins, and so long as the Salgram was not worshipped, the aged mother would deny herself even a drop of water.

Now let us see how these matters are being affected by the progressive tendencies of the age. This progressive tendency is felt in three ways:—(1) by the spread of the influence of the educated Brahmins; (2) by the spread of education amongst the other castes; and (3) owing to the equality observed by the British Government in this country, by conferring on non-Brahmins positions which demand the respect of Brahmins.

It is quite unnecessary to enter into details regarding these. It is to be hoped that the influence of the educated and intelligent Brahmins may always be exercised to the social well-being of India and her people. It is a

living Brahmin (may his life be long) who moved for widow marriage, and who still suffers excommunication from a section of his caste people for the cause he advocates. As an indication of the tendency, we may mention that it is no longer the custom with these educated Brahmins to exact the Brahminical bow, and in return to make the Asirbad, but they merrily shake hands with people of other castes as equals. The outlandish mode of salutation has its use in this instance; for a native mode, indicative of equality, might, perhaps, not have been introduced and resorted to, without rousing suspicions and giving offence to the orthodox. The educated Brahmins, like other educated Indians, have given up all other prejudices, and very often meet people of other castes on equal terms at dinner tables. Thus the whole country is to be congratulated on the fact that a strong body, amongst the Brahmins themselves are doing their best to promote equality.

But the spread of education amongst the other castes is also a very important factor. The *pujapat* (पूजापाठ) has been minimised, the ceremonials have been greatly curtailed, and marriages and shradhs, which alone remain, and which must remain, are now less expensive, so far as expense on Brahmins is concerned, than they were. Even a Ganga Prasad Sen Kabiraj now spends more money on hotel bills, in his pujahs, for the entertainment of European guests, than on charges for the Brahminical feed. The Purohit finds his occupation gone and submits to the inevitable. His sons are, in some cases, the flower of our University—Rai Chand and Prem Chand Scholars and Professors in our colleges. The case is the same with the Guru. Several educated men have not been made *Guru mukh*, or initiated by the Guru. It will not be long before the caste will have to be analysed and interpreted without what we have now numbered as its third requirement.

(4.) A Hindu must abide by the rules of his caste, as to the marriageable age of girls, as to widow marriages, and as to going to sea and the use of the prohibited food.

(*a*) As to the marriageable age of girls. The average age in India will be found to range betweeen 10 and 12. Marriages at an earlier or a later age will be found to be more of the nature of exceptions than the rule. Mr. Malabari is not perhaps aware how, in Bengal, the marriageable age of girls is tending to rise. It is not the result of a sentimental reform, but the crude effect of certain crude causes. Fathers find it extremely difficult to find an eligible match for their girls, and when they have found one, to eke out the money that is required to secure the son-in-law. An entrance *fail* has here his value; the entrance *pass* sells dearer still; and a graduate sells very high indeed in the marriage market. Every University Honor

has its corresponding value, and for many persons with limited means it is growing a question of the deepest concern how to marry their daughters, regard being had to the cruel custom that has seized hold of society. Ordinarily the highest pay in Government Service for an Indian is that of a Sub-Judge; and to dispose of five daughters would cost a Sub-Judge his life earnings, even if he were not extravagant in his habits. The difficulties in the case of those who live from hand to mouth are simply inconceivable, and as they are in their nature general, the caste rules have considerably modified the rule which insisted on marriages coming on before the age of puberty. Thirty years ago a Hindu of the Bhadralog class in Bengal would have lost caste if he had kept his daughter unmarried up to the age of puberty; the caste rules were never so strict in other parts of India. The offence is no longer visited with the punishment of ex-communication, and the feeling in such a case is one of pity and sympathy rather than of indignation. Public feeling and public opinion have thus changed, and, out of the difficulties experienced in getting daughters married, the marriageable age of girls is rising to the point which the reformers aim at. But perhaps the limit thus determined, from 10 to 14, is the extreme limit to which it will ever reach as long as there are not some very radical changes in other respects. There are now extant a few factors which conduce to early marriages. Perhaps these have not received due consideration from those who demand radical reform. (1) Every Hindu girl, whatever her parents' position in life, whatever her own qualifications for the matrimonial market, must be married once in her life. Old maids are unknown in India, except among the Kulin Brahmins of East Bengal, and even among them the class is fast dying out. It is ingrained in the Hindu mind, and even educated fathers and mothers, when they understand that the alternatives are between early marriage under disadvantageous circumstances, and late marriage, or possibly no marriage, do not hesitate, in the best interest of their child, in choosing the former; (2) unless there were to be a social revolution of a very radical type, bringing in a free admixture of the sexes, and such an admixture as to make love-marriages after European fashion, possible, parents in this country must have to give their daughters in marriage. Now, if they are to choose, they would naturally like to do so at an earlier age rather than at a later one, when perhaps their choice might not agree with that of their ward, and thus difficulties might arise which to a Hindu would be intolerable and perhaps insurmountable in their nature. Perhaps, under the circumstances, the best solution of the matter is that which it is receiving among the Bengal Bhadralog at the present date. It has

at least this merit, that, while it does not overlook the above considerations, it is bringing on a slow and gradual, reform exactly in keeping with all the present surroundings of a Hindu's life. There is no tyranny of caste rules here.*

(*b*) Widow marriages. It were well if some facts in connection with the subject of widow marriage in India were properly borne in mind. Is enforced widowhood general throughout India? If not, among what proportion of the Indian population is enforced widowhood the rule? The subject has been discussed as if enforced widowhood in India were not the exception, but the rule. It is doubtless so in Bengal Proper, with its Hindu population of 23 millions; but outside Bengal the case is quite different. Take, for instance, Behar. It has a Hindu population of 18 millions. About 3 millions, or a sixth of these comprise the castes of Brahmins, Rajputs, Khettris, Babhuns and Kayesthas, and widowhood is enforced amongst these castes only; widows in all castes below Kayesthas remarry in what is called the *shanghai* form. Thus widow marriage prevails among five-sixths of the Hindu population, and, as widow marriage is permitted among the Mahomedan population, there is widow marriage among six-sevenths of the population of the Province, and enforced widowhood among a seventh only. This will be found to be the case in other parts of India. Thus, Bengal excepted, we have widow marriage among six-sevenths of the people, running back, in the case of Hindus, to times, perhaps, out of mind. It is the remnant of their ancient custom called in Behar and Northern India *shanghat* (from the Sanscrit word, sanga, companionship). Widows of any age can remarry, though it is not perhaps considered good form for her to remarry when she has a number of grown up children, and is herself far advanced in life. The youngest brother of the deceased is the best husband the relict can choose; but her choice is never restricted. Her father, mother and brothers can give her in marriage to any person of her caste, and she herself is allowed to choose.

The form is very simple. On the day appointed, the bridegroom goes with a few friends to the bride's house, and there, at night, in the presence of females of the caste, places vermillion on the forehead of the widow bride. There is a feast given to the punchait, and next morning the bride goes to the bridegroom's house. The form, perhaps, is Gandharva, except that vermillion has now taken the place of

* The Hindu wife, after marriage, does not become the mistress of a household, but under the joint family system of the Hindus, even in its most restricted form, a member of her father-in-law's family, and she is naturally affiliated to her surroundings more readily at an earlier than at a later age.

garlands, or it may be the relic of a form which prevailed in India before the eight Aryan forms. No Brahmins officiate, but nevertheless there is no distinction made in the rights of the issue to inherit, or in the position amongst the caste people of the offspring or their mother. They are in all these respects the same as those of the wife married in regular form, and of her offspring. The marriage entails no forfeiture, except that the guardianship of the children of the first marriage passes to the relations of the deceased husband, if they choose to accept the guardianship; but this would be the case whether the widow remarried, or chose to remain single, according to the strict interpretation of Hindu law. It is extremely doubtful whether our Legislature was in full possession of all the facts of this customary remarriage when it enacted Act XV of 1856; if it had been, perhaps the forfeiture clause in the Act would not have been enacted in the form in which it now is.

Pundit Vidyasagar's reform was called for in the interests of the Hindu people of Bengal, and of a seventh part of the population elsewhere in India. The rest did not require the reform; all that was needed was the conservation of their good old custom. There is, however, some fear that, surrounded as the castes are by the influence and example of castes which in the hierarchy of caste are admittedly their superior, the castes, or their Punchaits, might in an evil moment come to assume Brahminical pretensions, and discontinue a practice prevailing amongst them, which it will yet take those who have it not, hundreds of years fully to establish. It should be the care of educated Indians of all races and castes in India, to assist those of other castes to conserve their good old custom; perhaps it is of some moment, even for the purpose of the conservation of the good old custom adverted to above, that the widow marriage reform should spread amongst the upper classes; for it is the influence and example of the higher castes, comprised in this seventh part of the population of India, including as it does the majority of the educated in India, that tells directly or indirectly on the manners and customs of the Indian people as a whole, for otherwise, it is scarcely explicable how our Mahomedan neighbours of the better sort, almost throughout India, are coming to look on widow remarriages with disfavor.

But what about the spread of reform in the upper classes? It is a matter of regret that the prospect is not very cheering, and for this our reformers are to some extent to blame. If caution was needed in the matter of any reform, it was here. The reform, to be popularised and to permeate, should have been gradual, and if our reformers had confined themselves at

the start, and for years to come, to the remarriage of virgin widows, the opposition would have gradually diminished. Orthodoxy would have had to yield, if not to reason and the Shastras, to that touch of nature which makes mankind wondrous kind; but the Shastras provide, and the Act provided, for remarriage of widows of all ages—virgin widows, widows with children and widows on the shady side of life. Perhaps it would not have done for the Shastras and the Act to fix a limit; the limit should have been drawn in the practical carrying out of the reform: but it was as if good practical sense had deserted the reformers in the praiseworthy, but mistaken zeal with which they set themselves to act. In a part of the country where the reforming zeal had risen to the highest pitch, a widow belonging to a respectable family, who had a grown up married daughter by a former husband, was remarried, and the reform movement gathered such powerful opposition around it, that, although it promised to be very popular here, it has since met with strong resistance to its further advance. There was a powerful revulsion of popular feeling, and that in quarters where nothing but sympathy was expected. It is curious to note that, in the part of the country referred to, the strongest opponents of the movement are the widows themselves. Perhaps the movement could still be made popular if a band of reformers were to work out the venerable Vidyasagar's reform in the way indicated; remarriages of virgin widows alone, or at most, of widows below twenty-five, without children.

(*c.*) Going to sea. Most of the castes are at the present moment engaged in solving this interesting question amongst themselves. Some of them have solved it in a way of their own. The Punjabis and the North-West Provinces men send their young men, and also their old, to England, accompanied by a Brahmin cook and provision for Hindu food, and thereafter give them the benefit of a presumption that they have always lived like Hindus and never touched any prohibited food. The enterprising Marwaries, conservative to a degree in all their habits and modes of life, have decided in a Punchait that there is no objection to crossing the *Kalapani*, and have established firms at Aden, and in China and Japan. The coolies every day migrate to the Mauritius, to Madagascar, to Trinidad, and other places, and return to India and are admitted to caste. The parties of artizans who were taken to the exhibition did not lose caste on return to India. The Maharajahs visited England in numbers during the Jubilee, and, of course, nobody dared say anything against them. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies Hindus who have visited England have been admitted to caste after Priaschit. There has been a similar admission of an England-returned Bengali in the Vaidya

caste; and the agitation in the caste, consequent thereon, has now well nigh subsided; but, in general, the Bengali youths who went to England for their education are yet kept out of caste, and it is not likely that they will submit to Priaschit for admission to it. Say they:—"People who cross the *Kalapani* to go "to Burmah, to Ceylon, and even to China and Japan, are not "thrown out of caste. Why should we be? It is allowable "under the Shastra to go to distant countries for the purpose "of education and commerce, and we have not infringed the "Shastras by crossing the *Kalapani*. The only thing that can "be said against us, is that we have taken food at present "prohibited by caste rules while we were in England, but such "things are daily done by people who have never stirred out of "the country. 'How can you,' say they to their opponents, 'grow into a prosperous and great nation if you never stir 'out of your homes and when you visit those who do so, with 'social ostracism?' Perhaps the most rational of these opponents will say: 'We admit that we are unreasonable to a certain extent; but it is not your crossing the *Kalapani* we 'really object to. We object to your forgetting the Hindu 'manners, habits, customs, and the Hindu spirit, through a few 'years stay in England. We object to your anti-Hindu garb "and anti-Hindu ways and anti-Hindu spirit. A Hindu "lives for others; you live for yourselves alone, unless you have "a superfluity to bestow on others. A Hindu abnegates self; "you are nothing if not self.'"

Perhaps this is a little too strong for the present day.

Thus, there were originally faults on both sides, but things are mending. A perfect good feeling is growing up on both sides. The England-returned Bengalis are now fully national in their spirit, and we hope the time is not far distant when the caste people will see, that it will not do for them to ostracise some of the best of their men and the flower of their youth.

(*d.*) Use of prohibited food. We have shown that caste rules have grown very tolerant in this respect, and it is not unlikely that the only things which will be contraband to the future Indian table will be beef and ham. That surely will be a compromise which will please all the gods.

*(To be continued.)*

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

## ATR. V.—MR. GIFFEN AND A MONEY PROBLEM.

SPEAKING on matters of economics and statistics, Mr. Giffen has a voice so powerful and so universally heeded, that his mere denunciation of a proposal relating to these matters, militates greatly against its chance of being ultimately accepted by the public. When, therefore, he states in most unequivocal language that he does not go "a fraction of an inch" with bi-metallists, and follows up this statement with the detail of his reasons, it behoves all who are interested in the fate of bi-metallism to consider his arguments carefully and to discuss freely the points on which they differ from him.

The essay in the November number of the *Nineteenth Century* to which these remarks refer, treats of the subject broadly from three points of view. One is merely historical; in a second Mr. Giffen states his reasons for disbelieving that gold and silver are capable of taking one another's place in the currency; and lastly, he strikes at the root of the bi-metallic theory, by arguing that it is impossible to fix by law the ratio which gold and silver shall bear to one another, inasmuch as the "money "demand proper" is "not the regulating demand in the adjustment of the ratios between the precious metals and other commodities," and therefore, of their ratio *inter se*. This last position is by far the most interesting of the three, and I propose to confine myself to enquiring into its accuracy. Mr. Giffen has been accused, and justly accused, of having in this doctrine expressed views diametrically opposed to his former teachings, as expounded in the essay: "Gold Supply; the Rate of Discount, and Prices," and other writings on finance. The virtue of consistency is, however, so apt to be over-estimated, and so sure to find ready and able champions, that it will, I think, be best to examine Mr. Giffen's new doctrine on its own merits, rather than compare it with his former views.

The argument is enunciated and explained in the most lucid manner, so that there is no possibility of mistaking the writer's views, or of being hazy as to what are the points on which one disagrees with him. There are, according to Mr. Giffen, four uses for the precious metals, namely:—in the arts, for hoarding, for the currency, and to form the banking reserve. In whichever of these manners the precious metals are used, they are simply merchandise, and as such their values are determined like those of other mercantile commodities, by the equalization of supply and demand. The preponderant uses as regards both

amount and the determination of the values of the precious metals are the first and second. Next in quantitative importance comes the demand for coinage, but this demand is fixed in amount by the economic circumstances of the community, and, being, besides, so imperative as to be satisfied at almost any cost, has very little influence on the values of the precious metals. Commercially to form the banking reserve is their most important use, nevertheless this banking reserve is but a small quantity, varying between limits not very wide apart, and therefore, does little to fix the ratio at which they exchange for commodities. With a great deal of this one cannot but agree. The value of the precious metals *is*, in every case, fixed strictly in accordance with the laws of supply and demand; the vast quantities used in the arts and for hoarding *are* frequently overlooked, and are an important element in the determination of these values. We can go a step further with Mr. Giffen, and admit that the precious metals, when used for token money proper, are merchandize, the purchase of which has little effect on prices. With given social and economic conditions (including a given range of prices) their is a certain demand for the precious and other metals for the token coinage; the Government purchases in the market at the cheapest rate the amount which will, as far as they can determine, satisfy this demand; the vendors of these commodities sell to the Government at the highest price they can command. The amount is small; it varies little, and is hardly affected by changes in the conditions of supply; as a regulator of values its effect must necessarily be insignificant.

But when Mr. Giffen, leaving the subject of token coinage, goes on to say that "the same remarks must apply to that part "of the gold money in a country like England which . . . . . "though standard money and unlimited legal tender, is really "used as a kind of small change only," it is impossible to pass with him by so simple a transition. It is quite true that the value of the precious metals is in this case also determined by ordinary commercial principles, *i.e.*, by the equalization of supply and demand; the point at which Mr. Giffen goes counter to the views of bi-metallists and differs indeed from Ricardo, Mill, and the whole school of economists whose doctrines are accepted as orthodox in our times, is his conception of the nature of this demand—his proposition, that there is nothing to differentiate it from the demand for the precious metals for purposes of token coinage. We are told that, just as with token money, the "general economic circumstances of a com- "munity of which the range of prices of staple articles is an "important part, but still only a part, determine in ordinary "circumstances the quantity of precious metals used as money "in circulation."

It is quite true that the general economic and social circumstances of the community determine, in ordinary circumstances, the number and nature of the transactions in which the precious metals are used as money; but does it follow from this that they determine the quantity in such a way that they may be "considered as a fixed amount of each kind per head of the "population, or rather an amount oscilating between fixed "limits according to the seasons and the ebb and flow of "credit"? It does follow, and follow immediately, if you grant that the total supply of the precious metals does not affect the quantity of them used in each transaction, that is, does not affect prices. For if the number and nature of the transactions in which metallic money plays a part, is fixed by the economic circumstances of the community, and the amount of such money which passes in each transaction is determined by the same cause, then, of course, the quantity of the precious metals which circulates as money depends on the economic habits of the people and on nothing else. But to assume this is really to beg the question, and, furthermore, fails to give any satisfactory explanation of why, at any time, one range of prices should prevail rather than another. What is there in the economic circumstances of our community that causes a pair of boots to exchange for the weight of gold contained in one sovereign, rather than the weight contained in two sovereigns or in half a sovereign? Now-a-days we are frequently told that it is the powerful instrument of credit that fixes the range of prices. But in such case a mere change of language might leave credit as it was, and yet cause £200 to be spoken of where £100 is mentioned now, and therefore, just double prices and halve the value of gold. Thus, although credit is a most important element in the determination of prices, there must be some primary cause at work behind it. This primary cause is nothing more than variation in the cost of production. The matter has been explained again and again, but is so often lost sight of, that I feel it necessary to briefly repeat the argument at this juncture. We will consider the matter from the simplest point of view—that of the producer. How should the gold miner limit his supply? We will first suppose him producing without any regard to the demand for coinage; then, if he has a true eye to his interests, he will produce just so much that the price artificers and hoarders are willing to give him, exactly repays the expenses of production of gold under the least favourable circumstances of his mining. To go beyond this point would be to produce at a loss. But it is quite possible that, under less favourable circumstances, the value of gold measured in respect to commodities might be such as to make it worth his while to go on producing

in order to command its general purchasing power, and to make it worth the while of others to buy from him for a like purpose. To this extra production he would accordingly betake himself, and one result would be a decline in the demand for the arts and for hoarding, for the miner working under less favorable circumstances sells at a higher price and a rise in price checks demand. Finally equilibrium would be restored when the new margin of demand of artificers and hoarders was just adjusted to supply under the new least favourable conditions, and when also the miner could no longer dig at a greater cost and be still repaid by his direct command over commodities. For the sake of giving additional clearness to my example, I have supposed that the power of purchasing commodities in general makes it worth the miner's while to produce under less favourable circumstances than if be were supplying the arts and hoarders only. But the example would still hold, were the reverse the case. If under any circumstances of the miner's production, his gold could be profitably employed for the purchase of commodities in general he would not part with the whole of his output to artificers and hoarders, for, in such case, there would be a demand for his gold for the sake of its purchasing power, and there is no reason why be should satisfy one demand rather than another. The value of his gold will, in this case also, be fixed at such a level that the demands alike for the arts and for the purpose of direct command over commodities will be exactly supplied by his output at that value. This view is entirely inconsistent with Mr. Giffen's position, that the amount of money in circulation is fixed by the economic habits of the community irrespective of the gold supply; for, according to the above reasoning, every fluctuation in the prosperity of mining tends to affect the amount of money in circulation, and, on the other hand, every fluctuation in prices tends to vary the amount of gold produced. For, theoretically, with every improvement in mining circumstances the miner can produce a larger supply of gold, which will give him and others a profitable command over commodities at the old prices, and with every fall in prices such profitable command will be given by gold produced under less favourable circumstances. And the reverse also holds. Of course, the enormous amount of gold in circulation compared with the annual supply, and especially with the annual supply used for purposes of coinage, makes it very difficult to trace the operation of these causes in any particular case, and the difficulty is rendered a thousand fold greater by the constant fluctuations of credit and trade. It is only during great and long continued changes that the tendency can be detected; nevertheless

it is always at work. It is not therefore the bi-metallists who assume that metallic money has some mysterious property which excludes it from the operation of the law of supply and demand, it is rather Mr. Giffen who introduces a peculiarity when he states that the demand is fixed irrespective of supply.

Looking at the matter from another point of view, we may see how the precious metals we have supposed produced for the sake of the command they give over commodities in general, enter the circulation as standard coins. Let us consider the case of a bullion merchant in London with a supply of gold on his hands. This he can dispose of in several ways. He can sell it to artificers, or to persons who require it for the purpose of hoarding, or he can take it to the Bank of England who, on behalf of the mint, will give him £3-17-10½ for every ounce he supplies them with, and for as much as he chooses to bring. As long, therefore, as artificers and hoarders will give him over £3-17-10½ for an ounce of his gold, he will sell to them rather than take it to the Bank, but when their demand is satisfied to such a point that they can no longer afford to give him so large a sum, then he will turn to the mint and have the remainder of his gold coined. The bullion dealer, carefully watching the market, launches his gold into circulation when he can buy cheap or sell dear, that is, when the supply is redundant, or when prices are low. We have now regarded the matter from the two extremities; from the point of view of the miner in the gold producing country at the one end, and of the bullion dealer in England at the other. To complete the examination, we should consider how the gold flows from the gold country and is poured into foreign lands and into bullion broker's coffers. But these are familiar points of foreign trade and banking, and so may be taken for granted in this discussion.

Up to this point it has been shown that Mr. Giffen's proposition, that the demand for the precious metals for the purpose of coinage is fixed by the economic circumstances of the community, is based on the assumption, of which no proof is afforded, that prices cannot be affected by changing the amount of money in circulation; and that, even if this assumption be made, the proposition does not enable us to determine how these circumstances can fix the range of prices. Further, it has been shown on independent and familiar reasoning, that variations in mining facilities and in the supply of the precious metals do affect the demand for them for the purpose of coinage, that is, the amount of them in circulation. It is now necessary to show that the original assumption is false, and that variations in the supply of metallic money have an important effect on prices. This

follows immediately from what has already been said. For we have seen that the economic circumstances of a community determine, under ordinary circumstances, the number and nature of the transactions in which metallic money plays a part, without determining the amount of money required for each transaction. Accordingly, if there is an increase in the supply of metallic money without any change in economic circumstances, the same number and kind of transactions are carried on through the medium of a larger amount, and each transaction or purchase is effected with the assistance of a greater number of coins—that is to say, the value of money decreases and prices rise, and conversely, with a diminution of the supply, the value of money increases and prices fall. The result of this spreads far beyond the retail transactions, in which metallic money is the medium of exchange. For, as in wholesale transactions, amounts are expressed in terms of the standard money used in retail trade, and the value of this money changes, by hypothesis, with alterations in its amount, it follows that the same value in wholesale commerce must, after such alteration, be expressed by a different number of the standard coins. The change in retail prices passes right through the enormous number of wholesale transactions effected by the agency of credit, and, in so far as this is the case, a change in the amount of metallic coinage has a more important effect on prices than it would were there no such thing as a banking system.

This reasoning in no way disregards the effect either of the demand for the precious metals outside the coinage, or of the enormous saving in their use effected by credit. For the one is an important agent in determining the supply of the precious metals for currency, and the other is, perhaps, the most noteworthy of those economic circumstances which limit the use of the precious metals as a circulating medium. Too much stress cannot, however, be laid on the fact, that in the most complicated, as in the most primitive of industrial societies, prices are primarily determined, on the one hand, by the supply and rapidity of circulation of the precious metals, and, on the other, by the number and nature of the transactions in which their agency is required. In a community with a highly developed banking system, credit performs many of the functions which fall to the part of precious metals where industry is not so well organized, whilst, on the other hand, though the range is more limited, the demand within it is sure to be greatly intensified. But, though the nature of their employment is changed, there is no departure from the rule that their value is determined in the long run by the extent of this employment in conjunction with their supply. Borrow-

ing Mr. Giffen's *simile* in order to point a conclusion the reverse of that at which he arrives, we may compare the coinage demand to a pool, into which the supply of precious metals falls, after flushing reservoirs of varying size, representing the demand for the arts and for hoarding. If the depth of the pool be taken as indicating the value of the precious metals, we have indeed a good picture of the manner in which it is settled. The basin of the pool is the demand (as regards scope, not actual quantity) for the precious metals for currency, depending on the economic conditions of the community and varying with their every change. We have then a stream of precious metals of varying volume, passing through and filling reservoirs of varying content, and discharging into a pool of varying capacity. The volume of the stream, the content of the reservoirs, and the capacity of the pool are all elements in determining the depth of metal or range of prices. Other things remaining constant, an increase in the volume of the stream, a decrease in the content of the reservoirs, or a contraction of the basin causes the level of the pool to rise, that is, increases the value of the precious metals and brings about a fall of prices. Conversely, a decrease in the volume of the stream, an increase in the content of the reservoirs, or an expansion of the basin lowers the level of the pool, and has the reverse effect on the value of the precious metals and prices. To complete the *simile*, and to connect it with the remarks on mining and the values of the precious metals made above, it must be borne in mind that the level of the pool reacts both on the content of the reservoirs and on the volume of the stream. A rise in the level of the pool tends to diminish the content of the reservoirs and to increase the volume of the stream, for a rise in value checks the demand for the arts, but offers a stimulus to produce for the coinage.

It thus appears that the inter-relation is an exceedingly complicated one, and it is not surprising that its existence should be frequently denied. In a simple industrial community the operations carried on by the agency of metallic money, change slowly in nature, and very little in amount, so that the effect of a variation in the supply of the precious metals can be almost mathematically determined. But the more complicated and refined the system is, the more numerous and extensive become these changes. In the England of to-day expansion and contraction of credit and fluctuations of trade are so frequent, so rapid, and so vast, that the variations they bring about in the demand for the precious metals are, as a rule, sufficient to hide entirely from view the changes consequent on alterations in the conditions of supply.

Before considering the last use of the precious metals mentioned by Mr. Giffen, I must pause a moment, to glance at the analogies whose support he claims for the argument I have been endeavouring to refute. The greatest stress is laid on the comparison with the token coinage proper. What applies to the one also applies, according to Mr. Giffen, *mutatis mutandis*, to the other. This point has already been noticed, and I have indicated that the essential difference is as follows: the supply of token coins, far from being at the mercy of every dealer in the precious metals, is fixed by the will of Government, who seek to adapt it to the nation's requirements for small change; thus, though differences in price may slowly affect the amount required, variations in the supply can hardly be a cause of fluctuation in the values of the precious metals. If in our country the token money lost its distinctive character and the Government declared a free coinage at the present rate, it would at once appear that the supply was no longer quantitatively fixed by the economic habits of the community, for people would flock to the mint to have the depreciated silver coins changed for gold. Next, as regards convertible paper, and especially the Bank of England notes, changes in the supply of which have no material effect on prices. In wholesale transactions values are not expressed in terms of notes of the Bank of England, and therefore an increase in their issue could only affect prices to the extent of the larger supply in competition with the whole mass of credit; except under extraordinary circumstances it could, indeed, hardly affect them at all. Thus, granting that the economic conditions of the community determine the scope for the employment of Bank of England notes, an extraordinary increase in their issue, leaving economic circumstances and prices as before, would result in an inconvenient excess, which would disappear from circulation. The essential distinction between these bank notes and standard money lies, therefore, in the different ways in which they affect prices. There remains the comparison with inconvertible paper. This, when issued by Governments in small amounts and for the purposes of retail trade, is just on the same level as token money, and needs no further discussion. But inconvertible paper may, we know, be issued in any quantity, and kept in circulation quite irrespectively of the customary demand of the community; only, if the issue is excessively increased, prices may rise to any point, and the paper be proportionately depreciated. Just in the same way, when there is a great increase in the supply of gold, prices rise, and the value of the metal falls. The analogy in this case seems to me to be all on the side of the argument, that the

general supply of the precious metals affects both the amount in circulation and prices.

There yet remains the question of the precious metals and the banking reserve. It is not a point on which I think it necessary to dwell, for it lies outside the main question of the relation between the supply of the precious metals and prices to which this paper has been devoted. The subject brings one into contact with the intricacies of the Money Market, and has perhaps never been so ably dealt with as by Mr. Giffen himself in his "Gold Supply; the Rate of Discount and Prices," to which an allusion has already been made. In this essay Mr. Giffen points out, in curious contradistinction to his present views, that the precious metals required for the banking reserve exercise an effect on prices out of all proportion to the amount as opposed to the total circulating capital of the country. "Like a small weight on the long arm of a lever, "the cash reserve of a banking system has enormous force." The relation is briefly this: the vast quantity of credit, or nominal capital, with which the business of a modern market is carried on, rests on a basis of cash, which it cannot exceed by more than a certain fixed proportion. For credit in this sense may be considered as roughly equivalent to bankers' liabilities, and bankers, to meet sudden and unexpected demands, must keep a reserve of cash proportionate to their loans, or else, as in our own system, must deposit this reserve with a central bank which will keep it for them. In any case "the cash held by bankers in reserve"—or by the central bank on their behalf—"making all allowances, of course, for the "instruments at their command for replenishing it, fixes an "absolute and impassible limit to expansion." From which it follows, without further exposition, that there must be some relation between the supply of this cash and the volume of credit or bankers' liabilities which rests upon it; that is, between the supply of the precious metals and one of those economic circumstances which, we have seen, exercise so important an influence on the determination of prices. Into the nature and action of these economic circumstances I have not entered, and it would therefore be out of place to discuss at any length their relation to the banking reserve.

Briefly, then, Mr. Giffen's argument is, that no currency regulation can cause the precious metals to interchange at a fixed ratio, since the values both of gold and silver are determined by the adjustment of the supply to a demand for purposes quite outside their use as circulating media; for this, indeed, the quantity required is small and is furthermore fixed independently of fluctuations in supply, by the economic circumstances of the community. And briefly this is the

refutation. The amount used in the coinage, without being preponderant in quantity, is nevertheless the regulating demand. For though the economic circumstances of the community determine the scope for the use of the precious metals as money, yet it is only in conjunction with their expenses of production that they can regulate the amount in circulation, and the scope but not the quantity being thus determined, every variation of the amount in circulation must be accompanied by a corresponding change in the level of prices; a change which is, however, most difficult to trace, since the scope, far from being rigidly fixed, is influenced to such a degree by constant and widespread revolutions in credit and trade, that changes due to alterations in the circumstances of supply shrink by their side into comparative insignificance.

R. NATHAN, C.S.

## ART. VI.—THE BEGINNINGS OF DUTCH COMMERCE IN INDIA.

AFTER having been excluded by Charles V, and his successor, Philip II, from extending their trade to the East, the Hollanders formed Companies, and began, at the end of the sixteenth century, to equip ships for despatch to the East Indies—a general name which embraced at that time all the countries situated to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. With the double object of avoiding Spanish cruisers and discovering a new route to China, several expeditions were undertaken to reach the shores of that country by sailing along the northern boundaries of Europe, through the Arctic Ocean, and then descending southwards through Behrings Straits. This feat was, however, reserved to be accomplished by the intrepid Nordenskjöld* in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Several attempts to effect a passage by the Arctic Ocean to China having proved abortive,† trading voyages, which turned out extremely profitable, were undertaken, after the example of the Spaniards and the Portuguese, by the Cape of Good Hope route, to Sumatra, Java, China, Japan, &c. Generally, however, Indian ports also were visited, and goods purchased or sold in them, either on the outward voyage, or in returning to Europe. No special voyages to India alone were apparently undertaken during the early period of Dutch commerce with this country.

Our source for this article is the second edition of a work printed in Rouen, in ten volumes, in 1725. Its title is rather lengthy, but for the sake of accuracy we give it here in full, and there is the more reason for doing so, in that it is scarce, and, as times go, may soon fall into total oblivion :—"Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l' établissement et aux progrez [*sic*] de la

* See "The voyage of the Vega round Asia and Europe."

† The programme of these expeditions was "to sail along the coasts of Norway, of Muscovy and of Tartary, in order to seek a passage to the realms of Cathai and of China." The first consisted of three ships, sent out by a Company of merchants in 1594. It sailed as far as 77° N. Lat. and returned. The second, which had been equipped by order of the States General and the Prince of Orange, and consisted of seven vessels, sailed in 1595, and was driven back by the ice. The Council of the town of Amsterdam then fitted out two ships, which sailed in the beginning of 1596, and penetrated much further than the two earlier expeditions. This expedition had passed a whole winter in Spitzbergen, whilst the first had merely circumnavigated Nova Zembla, and the second only touched the country of the Samoyedes.

Compagnie des Indes Orientales formée dans les Provinces Unies des Pays Bas. Nouvelle Edition, revue par l' auteur et considérablement augmentée. Enrichie d' un grand nombre de figures en taille douce." The author's, or rather collector's, name does not occur on the title-page, but the dedication, which is to "Monseigneur de Chamillart, controleur general des finances, Ministre et Secretaire d'Etat de la Guerre," bears the signature of "De Constantin," whom we may consider to have been the compiler. That the work must have been of some importance, would appear also from a document written in the name of the King of France, appended to the eighth volume, and beginning with the words "Louis par la grace de Dieu, Roi de France et de Navarre, &c."*

Three ships, called *The Ram*, *The Sheep* and *The Lamb*† sailed on the 5th of May, 1601, from the town of Veer, in Zealand, under the command of Admiral G. Spilberg, for Acheen, in Sumatra. They passed through the Channel to Cape Verd, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sighted Point de Galle on the 28th May 1602, after having experienced various kinds of weather, touched at several places, and crossed the line not less than four times; all of which matters are here passed over, our intention being to confine ourselves to those relating to India.

Expedition of George Spilberg who bore the title of Admiral.

The ships then sailed along the coast of Ceylon in search of the river Matecalo, on reaching which they cast anchor in the bay at its mouth, and, a boat having been sent to the shore, information was elicited from some natives that the town in which the King, Dermuts Jangadare by name, held his court, was situated at some distance to the north. On the 1st June 1602, some Cingalese came on board with an interpreter who could speak Portuguese, and brought information that they had pepper and cinnamon, and that the Modeliar, who was the King's Captain, desired to speak to the General.‡ When these persons departed, they were given glasses and other articles as presents. On the 2nd, the General went on shore with three or four men, and saw there five elephants, which appeared to be very docile. The Modeliar received him with much civility, so that he promised to pay the next day a visit to the King at Matecalo, which he did, taking with him presents and also some musicians to perform on their instruments. Meanwhile, an official came on board and proposed that the Hollanders should take their

* The possessor of this rare work is my friend, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

† *T. N.*—p. 1, seq. These names were no doubt originally Dutch, but as they occur only in French in the work, they are here given in English.

‡ This is General Spilberg.

ship about eight leagues to the north, whence he had come; but the people of Matecalo strongly opposed this invitation, as they desired to monopolise the profits of the trade.

The General, who had gone to see the King, sent a letter on board on the 4th, saying that they would both come to the shore—which they did, but not before 5 P. M.—the King being accompanied by a thousand armed men. Afterwards, the General took leave of him and returned on board. He narrated that, on his arrival, several gentlemen took him into the presence of the King, whom he found guarded by 600 men, each with a naked sword in his hand. The King bade the General welcome, and the latter then offered the presents he had brought, and made his musicians perform, which greatly pleased the King. The General was then taken to the house of the Modeliar and entertained with a repast. The next day he was ordered not to move with his men from the house in which he had been lodged. In the evening he was taken to the King, who insisted that he must be a Portuguese. He took much trouble to persuade him to the contrary, and the King when he was convinced, or feigned to be convinced, allowed him to return on board, which he did, as already stated

He spent the night on board in preparing other gifts for the King, and in arranging to send men to receive the cargo for the ship which the King had promised to load within fifteen days. On the morning of the 6th he returned on shore, where the King was then being joined hourly by fresh crowds of armed men. The General expressed his anxiety to obtain the cargo, and the King assured him that he would get half of it in five days; at the same time, however, he urged him to unload his ship and put his goods on shore. The Modeliar likewise proposed that the vessel should be hauled on to the dry land, as was customary with country ships.

This extraordinary proposal gave rise to suspicion; at the same time some Moors and Turks who traded along these coasts, brought the news that very little pepper, or none at all, being at hand, there could be no sale of it. The General nevertheless agreed to allow the ship to be towed to the dry land, but asked to be supplied with men and a pilot for this purpose. He was allowed to return on board, but four of his men, considered to be Portuguese, were detained on shore, he himself vehemently protesting that he was not of that nationality, but a Zealander. Eleven Cingalese came with him, eight of whom descended into the hold of the ship for the purpose of unloading it; he, however, clapped the hatch upon them as soon as they had gone down, and so made them prisoners. Then, he displayed some of the richest of the goods to the three Cingalese who had remained on deck, telling them that these would all

have become the property of the King, if he had sent the pepper and the cinnamon he had promised, and also bidding them inform the King that he would never see the eight remaining Cingalese unless he sent back the four men belonging to his crew. He, at the same time wrote a letter to the King, exhorting him not to listen to evil counsellors, but deliver the goods he had promised, as the men who had come on board would assure him that their value would be paid, from what they had seen in the ship. He also stated that he detained the eight prisoners, because he had unreasonably been asked to put his goods on shore, and haul the vessel up on to the dry land, without there being the least appearance of any pepper or cinnamon forthcoming. Lastly, that, as the men of the crew were considered to be Portuguese, this false pretence might serve as a pretext for confiscating the goods if they were landed; if, however, the King were pleased to resume their intercourse and act in good faith, he would, on his part, show him every respect, and endeavour to satisfy all with whom he might have to deal.

Along with this letter presents were sent, because the hope of trading with the country had not yet been given up; and all the bunting and flags were displayed, and volleys of artillery fired, as a mark of civility to the King, who, however, felt rather frightened than honoured by it.

The same day, the King sent back the interpreter in a boat, with a quantity of provisions—antelopes, chickens, butter, fruits, and an offer that whatever the country contained should be at the service of the General. Three of the prisoners were also sent back to the ship, with the request that the Dutch would not go elsewhere for their cargo, as it could be delivered there, and an offer to leave three or four Cingalese as hostages on board till the completion of the transaction. Excuses were offered concerning the misunderstanding with reference to the ship, and only time was asked for collecting the required pepper. These were, however, mere artifices, as afterwards clearly appeared.

On the 7th, the King sent a sample of pepper, priced extremely high, and also a little wax. The General declined to make any offer, as he did not intend to make so trifling a purchase. When the King saw that this ruse was unsuccessful, he retired, on the 8th, from the shore to the interior.

On the 9th, water was taken in, and some provisions were purchased; at the same time certain of the inhabitants who could speak Portuguese, alleged that the King of Matecalo was tributary to the King of Spain On the 10th, the General sent two men to the King, who again promised to deliver the cargo, if only time were given him; but it would be necessary to obtain permission from the great King, to whom one of his

own people might be sent with one of the Hollanders, if required. The General was himself inclined to undertake this journey, but the King dissuaded him on account of its length and difficulty; accordingly, only a factor was sent to Candy with presents. On the 15th, the General returned on board, and, it being necessary to wait till the factor came back, trade was meanwhile carried on by barter for precious stones, such as rubies, topazes, garnets, hyacinths and several other kinds, so that a tolerable quantity of them was collected. The most expensive portion of the goods given in exchange, which was, indeed of more value than the precious stones, consisted of presents to the King of Matecalo for permission to trade. The stones of these parts were not much prized, but they could be had very cheap.

On the 3rd July, 1602, the factor who had gone to see the King of Candy, returned, with two of his agents, and letters for the General, accompanied by presents of golden rings and big arrows, called Segonsios. The letters contained polite offers, which were repeated also orally by the agents of the King, named Gonsale Roderigos and Melchior Rebecca, with promises to deliver any goods at hand for the cargo of the vessel, and a request to the General to pay a visit to the Court at Candy.

That very evening, too, Guyon le Fort arrived with his sloop, which pleased the Dutchmen greatly, because they had had no news of it since *The Ram* had parted with them on the 24th December, near the Cape of Good Hope.

It was then resolved that the General should pay a visit to the great King; as he had express orders to that effect from the parties interested in the expedition, and also desired to present the letters patent of Prince Maurice, which contained offers of friendship and alliance against his foes. On the 6th July, the General departed, accompanied by ten men, some of whom were performers on musical instruments. He was neither dismayed by the length, nor by the difficulties of the road, as he had a duty to execute.

*The Ram* having anchored near the Admiral, several volleys were fired in honour of the King's agents, but, a gunner having overloaded a cannon, the piece burst, and so wounded him that he died.

During the absence of the General, the Dutchmen bartered for more precious stones, and despatched the sloop for the purpose of examining whether there were any other roadsteads on the coast; but none could be found as good as that of Matecalo.

On the 28th, the General returned from his trip, and Captain Tongerhett, who had been left ill at the second stage, with

three elephants and two men to bring him back, on the last day of the month.

The General reported that, when he started for Candy, he first paid a visit to the King of Matecalo, who received him very well, made him a present of gold rings, and gave him elephants and guides to show the road, and palankeens to carry him and his baggage, as well as such of his people as might not be able to walk. Throughout the journey they met with good treatment, and were entertained free of expense.

On reaching the territory of the old King, they were received by his Modeliar, who led them, amid the sounds of flutes and drums, to an Aldea (village), where they were well feasted. The room to which they were taken, and in which they slept, was curtained with a kind of entirely white tapestry, the greatest honour that could be shown to any person in the island of Ceylon. We may pass over the civilities which the General met with at various places, and state that when he arrived in the vicinity of Candy, he was obliged to halt on the banks of a river, with the Modeliars, or Captains, who accompanied him. After he had waited an hour, the King sent him his first Modeliar, Emanuel Dias, with several other Portuguese, all of whom had cropped ears, to indicate that they were in the service of this Prince ; but it seems probable that this was rather a mark of disgrace than of distinction, and that the Portuguese made a virtue of necessity by representing it in the latter light, their ears having been really cut off as a punishment for some crime, whereon they took service with native princes.

The General marched towards the town, followed by more than a thousand armed soldiers of various nations—Turks, Moors, Cingalese, Caffres and renegade Portuguese—who displayed eight flags, some of which had lately been taken from their own countrymen. This numerous procession marched to the sound of various instruments, according to the fashion of the country. When the General reached his lodging, which was beyond the palace of the King, numerous volleys of musketry were fired. He was accompanied by Captain Tongerhett of Flessingen, and preceded by three trumpeters, while a fourth carried the standard of the Prince and was followed by four other servants. He also paraded a flag of Spain, or Portugal, made of silk, but carried with the spear head downwards, which was presented to the King, who in his turn gave another, which he likewise had taken from the Portuguese.

The lodging to which he was taken was furnished, not in the Singalese, but in the Portuguese, style, and Emanuel Dias, with other men of his nation, kept the General company. After dinner, the King sent him three saddled horses to bring him to the audience. Besides the presents the General

had already sent, he had brought some more, which were laid out on a carpet and received by the King with many marks of satisfaction.

This Prince, who was dressed all in white, got up and showed the presents to his children, a young prince and princess; then he walked up and down the apartment, conversing with the General, whom he told, at taking leave of him, that he hoped to see him again the next day, ending with the words: "Go and take rest, for you must certainly be fatigued with your journey." When the General went out, he made his musicians perform, whereat the King was much pleased, and then the musicians of the country, with the trumpeters, also played.

The next day, the King again sent his horses for the General, and, on his arrival, proposed to sell him cinnamon and pepper; but, as no agreement could be arrived at about the price, nothing more was said on the subject, and other topics were discussed. When he was on the point of taking leave, the King asked him which of his goods he was ready to part with? He replied that he had not come so much for the sake of making purchases, as to execute the orders of his Prince, which were to offer the King his alliance and friendship, and to tell him that, if he stood in need of help against his enemies, the Portuguese, he would be ready to grant it.

The King thereupon repeated to the whole court the offers made to him, and all were highly pleased, but the King most so, as would appear from the fact that he embraced the General, raising him from the ground, and told him that all the cinnamon and pepper he had were at his command. He had, however, but little,—in fact only to the value of 30,00 livres [francs] in all. He excused himself on account of the unexpected arrival of the Hollanders, who, he said, had come as if they had fallen from the sky, adding that, moreover, he did not care to possess either cinnamon or pepper, as he had never traded in them, and that he did not allow any one to gather cinnamon, but had, on the contrary, prohibited it, and was destroying the trees that bore it, in order to prevent his foes, the Portuguese, from obtaining any more of it.

After all, however, there was no possibility of remaining long at Candy, on account of the great rains, which hindered the gathering of cinnamon, and because the monsoon was beginning to blow from the east, which would have detained them on the coast of Matecalo.

The General and the King met daily, and the latter showed all the arms, trappings, and morions he had taken from the Portuguese. He also showed his guest the pagodas, which were extremely numerous, and contained from 400 to 500

idols, some of them as high as masts, to accommodate which he had expressly built towers, or spires, constructed with much art, of handsome stone, with vaults and gildings. When asked by the King what he thought of the idols, the General replied that he preferred seeing living persons to inanimate figures, which were of no use. Then he asked whether the pagodas of the Hollanders were adorned with images and statues like those of the Portuguese, and mentioned Mary, Peter and Paul, with other saints; he also asked whether the Hollanders believed in Christ. The General replied that the Hollanders were true Christians, and not Roman Catholics, subject to the Pope, like the Portuguese. On the King enquiring what the Dutch churches contained, the General pointed to simple walls without ornaments, and said that they were of the same kind, but that the true God dwelt in the hearts of the Hollanders—the God who had created heaven and earth, men, and all things. The King asked whether the God of the Hollanders could die, and was told that no mortal being could be God. He was also informed that all his images were vain things, and exhorted not to put his trust in idols, but in God alone, who was the creator of the whole universe. He seems to have understood all these things well, and, pointing to his palace and town, said: "It is God who has given me all this." In short, the subject of religion appeared to interest the King considerably.

The King also invited the General, with all his people, to a repast in the palace, in a large hall hung with tapestry, and furnished with a table and chairs, according to the Spanish fashion, where a dinner was served in the European manner, accompanied with music and other amusements. On that occasion the General presented the King with a picture of the Prince on horseback, as he appeared at a battle fought in Flanders on the 2nd June 1600. This gift having much pleased the King, a narrative of this battle and of the state of affairs in the United Provinces was given him, with the information that the States General, with Prince Maurice at the head of their armies, were waging war against the King of Portugal and Castile, and often triumphed over him.

During the five days the General remained in Candy, the King never ceased to question him about Prince Maurice, whom he granted permission to build a fort in any part of his territory that might be found most convenient for the purpose. He made the General his Ambassador to Holland, empowered him to treat with that country, and gave him written instructions. Finally, the General took leave of the King, whose name was Fimala Darma-Suria Ada, and who sent him several elephants to take him back to his ships. He was also presented with large arrows called Segonsios, as an assurance of the King's fidelity to his promises, with a gilded hat, and with four or five slaves to

serve him on the road. During this trip to Candy and back, which lasted twenty-two days, the General incurred no expenses, except the presents he gave away from time to time; he, however, left two of his musicians with the King of Candy to amuse him.

After his return the General made preparations to sail from the coast of Ceylon direct to Acheen, about the last day of August, when the coast monsoon was expected. His crew was weak, as it had been reduced to twenty-four men; he therefore took on board some men from *The Ram* which had still forty-five remaining, but experienced some opposition from the officers, who only agreed to the diminution of their ship's company after being convinced by cogent reasons urged. While making preparations for their departure, the Hollanders utilised their spare time in making prizes of several vessels, the first of which they observed on the 8th August. Boarding it with a sloop, they found it to be a handsome new galiot of about 80 tons burthen, manned by a crew of 46 Portuguese, Topases, Mestitzoes, &c., armed with some small cannons, two swivel-guns, and several pikes and halberts. The cargo consisted of arecanuts, of little account to the Hollanders, some pepper and cinnamon. This galiot, though so well provided with arms, surrendered to the sloop of the General, manned by fourteen persons only; the name of the Portuguese Captain was Antonio de Costa Montero. On the 11th the Hollanders took a shampan (native vessel) loaded with betel-nuts, which they presented to the King of Matecalo, who, although he had given permission to the General to capture Portuguese vessels, and had even offered him aid for the purpose, nevertheless protested on this occasion against his taking vessels on this coast. No notice, however, was taken of this, as it was well known that, being a tributary of the Portuguese, he had protested only for form's sake, in order to keep up an appearance of neutrality. On the 12th, another shampan was seen and forthwith taken. Its crew consisted of 20 Mestitzoes and Topases; its cargo of betel-nuts was bartered for precious stones and provisions. The Captain of the vessel first taken, not having been carefully guarded, escaped, for which the men in charge of him were punished. Some Portuguese wished to negotiate for the ransom of the vessels captured, but only as a pretence, in order to detain the Hollanders till the setting in of the monsoon. The crews of these three vessels numbered altogether a hundred men. Those who offered their services to the Hollanders were accepted; some were sent to the King of Candy, and the rest thrown into the sea; but those who could swim escaped easily.

The Hollanders sailed from Matecalo on the 3rd September, and arrived on the 16th of the same month, without any

accident, at Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, having brought from Candy 60 canisters of cinnamon, 16 bales of pepper, and 4 bales of turmeric.

On the 17th January 1603, two vessels from the province of Zealand, the *Flessingen* and the *Der Gous*, cast anchor in the roadstead of Acheen. Both came from Matecalo, where they had left another vessel, the *Ziriczée*, which was waiting for its factor, Sebald de Weert, who had gone to Candy to pay his respects to the King, as, having heard that the General (Spilberg) had been well received, he thought it proper to emulate him. On the 29th, Nicolas Pietersz of Flessingen, and Lucas Jansz of Antwerp, embarked in a Guzerat ship, and sailed from Acheen to Calicut, to see what kind of trade could be established there. Both of them had lived at Acheen by the consent and orders of the Company of Zealand, but the *Ziriczée* mentioned above, which had been left at Matecalo, now arrived at Acheen with the news that the Company of Zealand had been united with that of Holland, which pleased everybody considerably. Sebald de Weert reported that he had met with much courtesy at Candy, and that, before going there, he had received a letter from Erasmus Martsberg, one of the two musicians left by General Spilberg with the King of Candy, whose secretary Erasmus had become, and that the instructions given him in this letter as to the manner in which he should behave at the Court had been of the greatest utility to him.

On the 21st February 1603, the Captain of *The Ram*, whose name was Jongerhett, died, and on the 7th of March Guyon le Fort also expired. The latter had the rank of Vice-Admiral in the same ship, but had been deprived of his post for having conspired with his crew against General Spilberg and against the common welfare, and fomented discontent which would have terminated in downright mutiny, but for the prudence of the General. On the 8th of the same month three other Dutch ships anchored in the roadstead of Acheen. One was the *Holland*, with Melchior de Vogelaar as its factor; the other was called *The Star*, and its factor was Nicholas Simonsz Meemal; the third was *The Garden of Holland*, commanded by Captain Jaques Pietersz. The factors of these three ships also confirmed the news about the amalgamation of the Company of Holland with that of Zealand. They, at the same time, produced letters and other documents, from which it appeared that Sebald de Weert had been appointed Vice-Admiral of the fleet, of which Wybrant Waarwyk was the Admiral in the East Indies. These very necessary orders gave much satisfaction to everybody, as it was thought desirable that the three vessels from Zealand should have a cheif,

contentions and jealousies having already broken out among their officers, because the three factors and the masters, who were also called Captains, claimed to be all equal, and would not yield to the other.

After the General had been informed of these matters, and especially of the amalgamation of the two Companies, he ordered that while the above-named three vessels were in port, no flag should be hoisted on the mainmast of his ship. He even went on board the *Zirickée*, where the Vice-Admiral was with his council and the factors, to offer his services and those of his vessels and their crews, a courtesy which was thankfully acknowledged. He went even further, and was willing to surrender to the factors of the two united Companies all his stores and ready cash, to dispose of them and to trade with them as they might deem proper, in order to avoid any appearance of rivalry, in consequence of which the price of pepper would rise. All he wanted was to have the first cargo; this preference being due to him since he had arrived first at Acheen, and the King had promised to allow him to take his cargo before everybody else. Thereupon the Vice-Admiral asked for time to deliberate with his council. Nevertheless, General Spilberg made every preparation for sailing with his ship, leaving *The Ram* in the roadstead to take on board the pepper of the impending harvest; for which purpose he gave orders to Cornelius Specx to remain with three servants and to take good care of everything.

On the 23rd of the same month of March 1603, a proposal was made to the General to sell *The Ram* to the United Companies. To induce him to do this, it was pointed out to him that all the vessels of these Companies had resolved to depart together forthwith, and that, consequently, if *The Ram* alone remained, there would be danger of her being surprised in the night, or attacked by the Portuguese or by their partisans, as the crew was weak, and it would be necessary to wait more than seven months for the expected cargo.

After considering this proposal, and taking the advice of his council, the General determined, on the 25th March, to part with the ship if he could obtain a reasonable price for it. He calculated that the vessel had still to remain 16 months at sea, during which time, the wages would amount to 1,200 livres or more; that about 300 livres would be required for provisions and other expenses for the maintenance of the ship during a stay of seven or eight months at Acheen, and that on her arrival in Holland, she would be quite dilapidated and of little value. Accordingly, he made a bargain for 325 livres in ready cash, retaining for himself all the provisions, two anchors, all the muskets and pikes, and

all the goods. Moreover, the Vice-Admiral and his council, who had made the purchase, engaged to take, in the first two vessels loading at Acheen, and carry to Holland 24 lastes (48 tons) of pepper, on condition of their being paid for freight the rate that had been fixed by the United Companies. At the same time the factor, Cornelius Specx, with his servants, was to be taken to Holland in the same two vessels, without paying any passage-money, after bartering his goods for pepper and loading the same, as mentioned above. An agreement was further made that neither Specx, nor the factors of the United Companies, should henceforth purchase pepper at a higher rate than 12 taels, except by common consent.

In consequence of the sale of *The Ram*, the crew of *The Sheep* was much strengthened, and its stock of provisions increased, though some of the men, who were unwilling to join the vessels of the Admiral, had permission to enrol themselves in the service of the United Companies and to remain in the first-named vessel. On the 30th of the same month of March 1603, General Spilberg and Sebald de Weert, with the other councillors and factors, went to take leave of the King of Acheen, who feasted them and made them presents. When the General was on the point of sailing, he gave orders to Specx to remain at Acheen, with Gilles Michielsz for his assistant and two servants, in order to obtain and load, as soon as possible, the 24 lastes of pepper, the freight of which had been arranged for when *The Ram* was sold; he was also to use his money and the remaining goods according to the instructions he had received; for he had still 5,200 taels in hand, equal to about 15,000 Spanish dollars.

On the 3rd April 1603, General Spilberg sailed from Acheen, and on the 27th he cast anchor at Bantam in the Island of Java, where he found Admiral Wybrant Waarwyk, with nine ships of the United Companies. At that time the chief factor of the English East India Company was one Steriker, who died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by one Schot. The English proposed to buy his S. Thomas cloth of the General, but he preferred to sell it to his own countrymen, and obtained for it from Admiral Waarwyk 16,400 Spanish dollars, on condition of taking as much pepper as the ship would hold, on account, and the remainder in cash.

On the 13th August the ship *Der Goes*, of Zealand, cast anchor in the roadstead of Bantam. It had arrived from Ceylon and brought the melancholy news that Vice-Admiral Sebald de Weert, with fifty three of his men, had been assassinated by the King of Candy near Matecalo. Everybody was greatly surprised at this report, the

Account of the murder of Sebald de Weert with 53 of his men.

more so, as General Spilberg had for some time been in the power of the King, who, instead of insulting him in any way, had overwhelmed him with civilities and presents. Accordingly, the General questioned the crew of the *Der Goes*, and elicited from the men the statement that they believed the King had acted thus because the Hollanders had released four Portuguese vessels with their crews which they had captured, and that de Weert had refused to give to the Modeliar, Emanuel Dias, who was at Matecalo, some Portuguese and Mestitzoes whom he had demanded for the King of Candy. They also stated that the Hollanders had been duly warned by Reynier-Jansz, whom General Spilberg had left there, not to release any of the Portuguese or their servants, if they desired to be treated well by the King. As soon as the capture of these Portuguese vessels had become known in Candy, the King who was on the road, and wished to go only to Vintane, had proceeded as far as Matecalo, not doubting that the Portuguese would be surrendered to him. The Vice-Admiral and his council, however, being apprised of the approach of the Prince, had released the vessels and their crews, a step which excited the suspicions of the King, who concluded that the Hollanders entertained evil intentions, and were a great deal less unfriendly to the Portuguese than they pretended to be. Considering that the King was indebted for his education to the Jesuits of Goa and Colombo, but nevertheless hated the Portuguese more than any other nation, it would appear that the Reverend Fathers either took no pains to make him loyal to them or were unsuccessful in their efforts.

The crew of the *Der Goes* further related, that when the King of Candy arrived at Matecalo, he received the Vice-Admiral, who had 300 men with him, with many honours and ceremonies, but expressed his disapproval of the presence of so many armed men. The men were accordingly sent back to their ships, and only a few factors, trumpeters and other servants retained on shore; Erasmus Martsberg, who had been left by General Spilberg at the court of Candy, and had acquired the Cingalese language, serving as interpreter between the King and the Vice-Admiral. The King desired the ships to be taken to Point de Galle, whither he would march with his troops by land, to endeavour to take the place. The Vice-Admiral promised to do this, and then invited the King to pay him a visit on his ship; but the latter excused himself, whereon the Vice-Admiral ordered the interpreter to tell him that, if he refused to come on board, he would not go to Point de Galle. On hearing this reply, the King uttered the words:—"*Mata este caõ*,"* whereon the Vice-Admiral was at once slain with his men.

* Kill this dog.

This information distressed the General the more, that, as we have already seen, he had, when at the court of Ceylon, given several Portuguese vessels, which he had taken, with their cargoes, to the King of Matecalo, and allowed the Modeliar, Emanuel Dias, to take to Candy as many Portuguese and Mestitzoes as he liked, together with the best arms from their vessels, in return for which civility the King of Candy, who, strangely enough also bore among the Portuguese the name of Don Juan of Austria, had entrusted Spilberg with letters for the States General, and to the Prince of Orange, with the request that they would afford him aid against the Portuguese, his mortal enemies.

On the 28th General Spilberg sailed from Bantam, accompanied by the ships *Concord* and *Maid of Enchuisen* and the yacht *Rotterdam*. His cargo consisted of 5,500 bags of pepper, of precious stones, ambergris (grey amber,) cinnamon, mace, indigo, silk, porcelain, and 200 sacks of nutmegs. During the voyage to Europe he lost some of his crew by death, and he met on the 1st May 1604, in latitude 42°, a pilot from Lubeck, whose vessel had been dismasted by a storm, and who reported the death of Elizabeth, the illustrious Queen of England. Anchor was cast at Flessingen, on the 24th, amid the congratulations of the populace.

After the union of the two Companies for trading to the East Indies had been effected, as already mentioned, and letters patent had been obtained for the new Company, the Directors equipped a fleet of 14 ships and one yacht, all well-provided with cannons and crews, the latter amounting in number to more than ten thousand* men. The command was given to Wybrandt van Waarwyk as Admiral, and to Sebalt de Weert—whose adventures we shall now relate in greater detail—as Vice-Admiral.†

Expedition of 15 vessels commanded by Admiral Wybrandt van Waarwyk.

The vessels fitted out at the cost of the Chamber of Amsterdam were:—*The Maurice* of 800 tons, carrying the flag of the Admiral; *The Holland* of 700 tons; *The Nassau* of 680; *The Sun* of 560; *The Moon* of 500; *The Star* of 360; and the yacht, named *The Parrot*, of 50 tons.

The Chamber of Delft had fitted out the *Concord* of 240 tons; the Chamber of Zealand, the *Zealand* of 800 tons; the *Flessingen* of 500; and the *Goose* of 280: the Chamber of Rotterdam the *Erasmus* of 500, and the *Rotterdam* of

* There is clearly a mistake in these figures. The fleet could not have carried 10,000 men, and it would have been altogether beyond the power of the Dutch Chambers to despatch and victual such a force. The expedition, moreover, being primarily of a commercial character, it would not have paid them to do so. For 10,000 we should probably read 1,000.—Ed. *C. R.*

† T. N. p. 168 seq.

160 tons: the Chamber of Enchuisen, the *Garden of Holland* of 400 tons; and the *Maiden of Enchuisen* of 350 tons.

The *Maurice* and the *Moon* were destined for the Molucca Islands; the *Nassau* and the *Erasmus* for China; the *Holland*, the *Garden of Holland* and the *Star* for Acheen; the *Sun*, the *Maiden of Enchuisen* and the *Rotterdam* for Bantam in the island of Java, where, as we have already mentioned, General Spilberg met them. Vice-Admiral Sebald de Weert, who sailed with three vessels on the last day of May 1602, or about three months before the others, was to go first to Ceylon, and then to Acheen, in the island of Sumatra. He reached the coast on the 28th November 1602, and went on shore with fifteen men, first visiting Matecalo and then Candy, where he arrived after a fortnight's journey, the rains being extremely heavy and the roads bad. He met everywhere with the same civility that had been shown to Spilberg before him, and was feasted everywhere without any expense to himself.

When the King was informed that the Vice-Admiral had reached the neighbourhood of Candy, he sent people to meet him with provisions of every kind, and among them his own brother-in-law with 100 men, and he entered the town with much ceremony. The people and the soldiers were under arms, salutes were fired from several large pieces of cannon, flourishes of trumpets and drums resounded on all sides, and the whole scene looked as if some King were making his entry into the town.

The Vice-Admiral had scarcely alighted in the lodging assigned to him, when the King sent an officer to invite him to the palace. The audience hall was filled with courtiers and officers of the King, and at one end of it the portrait of Prince Maurice of Nassau could be seen, with the presents brought by the Vice-Admiral beneath it, on a magnificent carpet. The King was seated in a small apartment adjoining the hall, with the Prince, his son, aged three, and the princess, his daughter, aged eight, by his side.

When the Vice-Admiral saw the King, he fell on his knees, and after he had been told to rise, the interpreter congratulated him on his arrival, and asking him his object. The Vice-Admiral replied that he had come from a country called by the Portuguese Flandre, which was governed by their lordships the States General and by His Excellency Prince Maurice, whose portrait he had just seen in the hall of His Majesty. The King was surprised that the Vice-Admiral had recognized the portrait which General Spilberg had given him, as well as convinced of the truth of the information elicited from the latter regarding the power of Holland. A desultory conversation then ensued in Portuguese which the King spoke tolerably well.

He desired the aid of the Hollanders by sea, to avenge the enormous insult the Portuguese had committed by endeavouring to dethrone him. If the Admiral, he said, would prevent the Portuguese from obtaining reinforcements from Goa by sea, he could at once lay siege to their fort by land with an army of twenty thousand men. The Vice-Admiral replied that he had come only in the capacity of a merchant; that the length of the voyage, the state of his vessels, and the great expense he had incurred, would scarcely allow him to undertake such an expedition, but if His Majesty absolutely desired it, he would comply, on condition of a reasonable reward. The King agreed to everything he required, and assured him that he would give him proofs of his affection.

Several further interviews of a most friendly kind took place, but the topic of conversation was always the aid of the Hollanders, to whom alone the King promised to sell all the silk, pepper, cinnamon, and other products of the island, to the exclusion of other nations; he also offered all his own forts to the States General to garrison, being convined that their troops could take better care of them than his own. He urged the Vice-Admiral strongly to accept these conditions and to consider that, if he refused, the Portuguese, seeing his country unaided, would make fresh efforts to conquer it. In one of these interviews the King again dwelt on this topic before dinner was served, and, taking his young daughter by the hand, led her towards the Vice-Admiral, to whom she presented a golden bowl full of wine. The young Prince then offered him a poniard, whereon the Vice-Admiral gave him his own sword. The King said that, if the Prince had been old enough, he would have sent him to Prince Maurice to be educated.

Seeing the cordial and frank manner in which the King treated him, and the affection he appeared to entertain towards the Hollanders,—or Flemish, as they were at that time still called,—the Vice-Admiral Sebald de Weert, declared that he would aid him with greater forces than were now at his disposal, and would sail to Acheen to bring more ships. The King was highly pleased with this proposal, and made him a present of twenty hundred weight of cinnamon, and sixteen of pepper, with orders to his steward to accompany him, with sixty men, for the first two days of his journey to Matecalo, and provide him with provisions confectionery, &c.

Meanwhile, two of the vessels, namely, the *Flessingen* and *Goose*, had sailed, on the 11th December 1602, to Achêen, and the Vice-Admiral, following them on the 14th January, 1603, cast anchor in that roadstead on the 5th February, and met them there.

On the 3rd April, the Vice-Admiral left again, with six ships, for Ceylon, where, however, friendship had turned to enmity, and he was massacred with a number of Hollanders, as will be narrated further on. On reaching the coast, the Vice-Admiral landed and went to Matecalo, where, on the 30th April, he was received in the most friendly manner by the King, to whom he presented a letter, with a request to despatch it to the King of Candy, to apprise him of his arrival. The greatest concord and friendship subsisted between the Hollanders and the natives till the 5th of May, when the former caused a good deal of ill-feeling by their ignorance of the respect in which the bovine race was held in Ceylon. The King of Matecalo having failed to send on board daily as many antelopes as he had promised, though he provided the sailors with some from time to time and sent also a few boars, the sailors went, on that day, to the woods with their guns, and killed some small oxen which they brought on board. This trespassing gave great offence to the natives, and they complained bitterly of it. The next day the Vice-Admiral went on shore to appease them, telling them that as they would not sell any oxen, and he could not do without them, he had decided to get some shot and to pay for them afterwards. The ill-feeling, however, instead of being calmed, became more intense when on the 8th, some men were again sent on shore to kill oxen. The natives assembled, made a great noise, and would not consent at any price to see the oxen shot. Accordingly, the Hollanders went to the King, explained to him the need they had of oxen, and begged him to order his people to allow some to be killed, for which they would be paid. Instead of doing this, the King replied that the Hollanders had displeased him greatly, because, after coming to the country as friends, they had not only behaved like enemies, but done a thing which even the Portuguese had never attempted, and that he would rather to lose his own life than suffer such an injury any longer. At last, after the Hollanders had promised never to commit such violence again, the King was so far propitiated that he pardoned the past, and engaged to send on board daily as much rice and vegetables as might be required.

On the 13th of the same month of May, five men from Candy arrived at Matecalo with a letter from Erasmus Martsberg, whom General Spilberg had left there. He wrote that the King was then before Manicrawary, following up his first victories, for which reason he could not send a reply sooner; that he was highly pleased at the return of the Vice-Admiral, and still entertained the same feelings towards the Hollanders as he had manifested when they departed; that he requested them to make their appearance as speedily as possible before

Point de Galle, which he intended to besiege by land, and engaged if he became master of that place, to give them annually 1,000 cwt. of cinnamon, and as much pepper. Martsburg added that since he had been at the Court, he had never observed the King to be dishonest or to break his word.

On the receipt of this letter, it was resolved that the whole fleet should, with the first favourable wind, sail to Point de Galle, although the King had requested the Vice-Admiral first to meet him at Vintana, a place between Candy and Matecalo, to confer with him. Afterwards, however, the Vice-Admiral changed his mind, and did not sail, but merely requested the King immediately to lay siege to the fort with twenty or thirty thousand men, whereon he would forthwith, blockade it by sea.

On the 16th, at daybreak, a vessel was sighted, about two leagues to the south, and the Vice-Admiral ordered it to be chased by three armed sloops. About noon the sloops, followed by the *Holland*, the *Garden of Holland* and the *Star*, had approached it near enough to make it out to be a big Portuguese ship, whereon the sloop of the *Garden of Holland* gave the news to the Vice-Admiral, whilst the other two sloops went near and called to the ship to lower her flag and surrender. Instead of doing this, the Portuguese replied with a volley of musketry, which killed one man, whereon the sloops retired, and the Vice-Admiral detached a yacht, which was an excellent sailer, provided with cannon and a good crew. When the Portuguese saw her approaching, followed by three other ships, they struck their flag, and, taking in sail, surrendered and asked for quarter, which was granted them. The Captain, Lopo Alvarez, by name, with a factor, passed over to the Vice-Admiral's ship, and a Dutch crew was put on the prize, which was of 400 tons burden, and called *Nossa Senhora do Rozario* [Our Lady of the Rosary.] The Vice-Admiral's sloop succeeded, with the aid of the *Flessingen*, in capturing another vessel of 400 tons burden, bearing the name of *Madre de Dios* [Mother of God], and bound from Cochin to Negapatam. On the 19th the *Holland* and the *Star*, with a sloop, captured another vessel, of 140 tons burden, bound for Malacca and the Philippine Islands.

The fleet of the Hollanders seems to have been constantly on the watch for Portuguese vessels, several more of which they succeeded in taking; but we forbear specifying their further exploits, and shall merely observe that the only reason for all these seizures was alleged to be the desire of convincing the King of Candy that the Hollanders were enemies to the Portuguese, and this information pleased him so much that he resolved, on the 25th May 1603, to start for Matecalo, in order to confer with the Vice-Admiral, to whom he despatched a

courier requesting him not to release the Portuguese prisoners, but either to kill them, or keep them under guard in order to deliver them to the King.

On the 28th, the King sent a large quantity of provisions to the fleet, including hens, butter, rice, eggs and fruit. As the Portuguese had accepted quarter, two of their vessels, the *Nossa Senhora do Rozario* and the *Sant Antonio*, were restored to them, and passports given them to return to Negapatam, for which unexpected kindness they were extremely grateful. Some of their slaves desired to remain in the service of the Hollanders and were accordingly retained. They also wished to retain a pilot who was well acquainted with the coasts of India, but he pleaded for his liberty so earnestly that it was granted him. No doubt was entertained that this step would greatly displease the King, but, as quarter had been granted to the prisoners when they were taken, there was no way of avoiding it, as there was no intention of purchasing the good-will of the King by so cowardly an act as the detaining or killing of the Portuguese, which he had demanded. On the 24th, news arrived that the King would be at Matecalo the next day, and preparations were made to receive him as well as possible. On the 31st a Hollander came on board with information that he had left the King at a distance of five leagues, and that he would arrive at Matecalo the same evening. Accordingly, the decks of all the ships were swept and put in order; and a sloop was magnificently adorned, so that, in case the King should wish to visit the fleet, he might make use of it to come on board.

On the morning of the 1st June 1603, the Vice-Admiral, with the other Commanders, went on shore, accompanied by two hundred armed men, distributed under two banners, with drums and trumpets. They marched in good order to Matecalo, where they hoped to meet the King, but, on learning that he had not yet arrived, they went half a league further and met him. The King had with him several elephants and an escort of more than three hundred men. He received the Hollanders in a very friendly manner, and both parties marched together to Matecalo. When they arrived there, and the King had conversed for some time with the Vice-Admiral, he expressed a wish that the Hollanders should return on board, and come back the next morning in the same order, but he nevertheless detained the Vice-Admiral, with the other principal officers, to spend the night at Matecalo.

The Vice-Admiral, who entertained no evil suspicions, accordingly remained on shore with Thomas van Jongerloo and Henry Lendgies, and ordered his men to re-embark, whereon they departed without any order, like scattered sheep.

All at once, the Vice-Admiral was attacked and slain by the men of the King, and the rest of the Hollanders fared no better; but were nearly all massacred. It was a terrible carnage, apparently perpetrated without any cause or dispute.

Massacre of the Hollanders.

Those who were about to embark were overtaken and mostly killed. A few, however, concealed themselves, and others saved their lives by pretending to be dead. The crews on board, who had seen a part of the fray from a distance, never imagined that it had occurred by order of the King, but thought that some misunderstanding had taken place between their people and the natives; and they were anxious to know what had become of the Vice-Admiral.

In order to obtain information, they next morning armed a sloop and sent in it a young man from the island, whom they had on board, with a letter. Shortly afterwards the Ambassador of the King of Acheen, who happened to be there, made his appearance on the shore, accompanied by a few followers, and bearing a flag of truce, with a letter. When the sloop reached the shore, the letter was delivered and found to be written in the name of the King of Candy, but in the Portuguese language. It gave information about the massacre of the Hollanders and the Vice-Admiral, imputing to the latter the intention of compelling the King to come on board in order to assassinate him, which had led to his forestalling their nefarious design. It further declared that the Hollanders had the option of being at peace or at war with the King, but that it mattered little to him which they preferred; adding that the letter had been written in Portuguese, because no one survived who understood Flemish.

According to another account, when the sailors were ordered to return on board, which they attempted to do in a disorderly way, some of them having been drinking in the liquor-shops of the town, the Vice-Admiral begged the King also to come on board, which he refused to do, saying that, as he had come from Vintana to Matecalo to please the Vice-Admiral, who was not yet satisfied, great suspicions had arisen in his mind. Hereon the Vice-Admiral replied that, if His Majesty could not trust him so far as to come on board, he would in his turn decline to go with the King to Point de Galle, and would return where he had come from. This reply is said to have so irritated the King that he ordered his Modeliar, Emanual Dias, who was of Portuguese origin, forthwith to slay the Vice-Admiral with all his people. Others, however, asserted that the real reason for the massacre was the Vice-Admiral's disregard of the King's request to let him have the Portuguese prisoners.

This misfortune, and the improbability of being able, after its occurrence, to continue trading in Ceylon, greatly embarrassed the Hollanders, who were but too certain of the Vice-Admiral's fate. Accordingly, they assembled the remaining Members of the Council of the fleet, and, on the 4th June 1603, elected Jaques Pietersz of the *Enchuisen* as Vice-Admiral.

Up to the 6th, the sloop had brought three or four wounded sailors on board, but the dead were still left unburied, and as, on the same day, the King of Matecalo had sent three men on board with a request that a Hollander might be sent on shore, they were retained as hostages and two persons despatched with spades to inter the corpses. When these two men had done their work and returned on board, they reported that the King of Matecalo desired to be excused, as he and his people had had nothing to do with the massacre, which had been perpetrated by the people of Candy alone, and he engaged to act towards the Hollanders with the utmost respect and honesty; they, however, determined to judge of the truth of these assurances by what might happen afterwards.

This being the state of affairs, it was resolved to detach the *Goose* to sail to Bantam in search of her cargo, and report the tragic event which had occurred. The *Star* and the *Flessingen* departed for Acheen with the same purpose, and took with them the *Garden of Holland*, in order to be able to defend themselves against the Portuguese fleet of André Furtado, which was believed to be sailing from Malacca to the port named. As to the new Vice-Admiral, Jaques Pietersz, who was at that time on board the *Concord*, with the *Holland* and the yacht in his Company, he was to sail to Bengal and to Negapatam, in order to reconnoitre the country, and ascertain the state of affairs.

On the 16th June a Hollander who was at Candy, came on board with an envoy of the King, bringing a letter in which the latter endeavoured to excuse himself, and desired again to make friends with the Hollanders. He called God to witness, swearing by his own soul and those of his children, that if a man were sent to treat with him, he would do him no harm, but show him all the cinnamon and pepper stored in Candy; and that if aid were given to him in taking the forts of Colombo and Point de Galle, he would in every way fulfil the promises he had previously made.

After this proposal had been duly considered, the previous resolution was changed, and it was decided that the Island of Ceylon must not be abandoned; not because hopes were entertained of making at present any advantageous bargains, but because it was considered necessary to neglect nothing for the purpose of retaining access to the island. Accordingly, it was resolved to send Jaques Cornelisz, to Candy a sub-factor of

the ship the *Garden of Holland*, with the following instructions :— To induce the King to deposit on the shore all the cinnamon and pepper he had, and to appoint some of his own people to settle the price, which the Hollanders would pay in cash or in goods. They accepted the offers of friendship made by the King, but could no longer undertake to promote the siege of Colombo and of Point de Galle, as they had sent away some of their vessels to other parts of India. This, however, could be better accomplished during the next monsoon, as at that season they would receive new reinforcements from the United Provinces, which would enable them to execute the enterprise with ease.

The abovenamed sub-factor accordingly left for Candy, and all the ships sailed for their destinations, as already mentioned, except the *Holland*, the *Garden of Holland* and the yacht, which still remained at anchor, waiting for news from Candy, and hoping to obtain their cargo ; bartering lead, mirrors, knives, &c., for hens, eggs, cocoanuts and other victuals with the people of Matecalo, using, however, the precaution of always keeping sloops close in shore, so as to be able to fire on the islanders in case of necessity.

On the 9th July, information was brought to the Hollanders that there were five shampans (country vessels) in the Polygamme river, two of them loaded with elephants, one with ivory, one with arrack, and the fifth, so far, without cargo. This news was not credited, although a report existed that the King of Candy sent shampans every year, with elephants and other goods, to the Kings on the Coromandel Coast.

To ascertain the truth, the yacht *Sphere of the World* and the large sloop of the *Garden of Holland* were sent to confiscate all the shampans they might find there, to serve as hostages for the men that had been sent to Candy. In the evening a shampan was seen to the south, but it approached and cast anchor in the roadstead near the fleet, and when the Vice-Admiral made the Commander come on board, he produced a passport dated the 7th of the month, and given to an Arash (captain) by the Vice-Admiral himself. He reported that he had arrived from Mattore Bellingam, a place five leagues. north of Point de Galle, and that he was bringing a man from that place who had loaded his shampan with 80,000 pounds of cinnamon, and who had been sent by the Panico Modeliar, that is to say, the Commandant of the place, to sell it. He had, however, come less for the purpose of this sale, than of ascertaining what vessels were in the roadstead of Matecalo, as the Panico anxiously desired to trade and to make friends with the Hollanders, had no hand in the massacre perpetrated by order of the King of Candy, and commanded at least seven thousand men, not under his jurisdiction. If the

Hollanders would go to Point de Galle, he engaged to attack the fort by land; he could easily take it, as it contained a garrison of only three hundred Portuguese; and he did not mean to ask the permission of the King of Candy, which was quite unnecessary.

The Vice-Admiral and his council did not think proper to pay any attention to these proposals, which looked too much like a new stratagem prepared by the King of Candy for them. He, however, purchased the cinnamon, and paid for it after taking it on board, whereon the people of the shampan hauled it up on to the dry land, as they did not wish to return by sea, and requested that a Hollander might be sent with them to treat with the Panico Modeliar, but such a thing was not to be thought of.

On the 10th, the yacht and the sloop which had been ordered to the Polygamme river, started. The next day, the Vice-Admiral sent his boat after them, to ascertain what was going on, and it reported that the yacht and the sloop had cast anchor at a distance of six leagues, near the mouth of the said river, so that no vessel could pass into it or out of it, but that the inhabitants had stated that not more than one shampan was within, and that three Dutch vessels were in front of Jaffnapatam. The Vice-Admiral remained, nevertheless, in the roadstead of Matecalo, waiting for the return of his men from Candy, and in fact a small flag of truce made its appearance on the shore on the 20th, on perceiving which a boat was sent and brought on board an Arash, with a Hollander who was in charge of a letter from Jaques Cornelisz. In it he stated that he had reached Candy on the 29th of the preceding month, with the Ambassador of Acheen, but had been obliged to go as far as Sytabag, a distance of fifteen leagues from Candy, where the King had pitched his camp. The King, he stated, excused himself, and ascribed the misfortune which had taken place to a disastrous misunderstanding, swearing that he would henceforth place absolute trust in the Hollanders, and stating that he had already got ready two elephants for for the purpose of conveying to them by land as much cinnamon and pepper as they could carry.

After the Vice-Admiral, with his council, had discussed the contents of this letter, they were persuaded that the compliments of the King were only so many fine words, designed to detain the fleet, so as to keep the Portuguese in a state of alarm; and the decision arrived at was to sail to Acheen as soon as the men sent to Candy had returned.

On the 24th, about evening, Jaques Cornelisz made his appearance on the shore, and was immediately taken on board. He delivered to the Vice-Admiral a letter from the King of Candy whom he had left at Sytabag, with other letters from the

Ambassadors of Candy and of Acheen, who had remained with their suites at Matecalo, and proposed to come on board next morning. He had also left with them at Matecalo eight elephants laden with the abovementioned cinnamon and pepper. As to the King's letter, it meant nothing whatever, and consisted merely of fine words to detain the ships.

On the 25th the Arash, with the Ambassadors of Candy and of Acheen, came on board and greatly extolled the good intentions of the King of Candy. They said that they would not fail to provide the two ships with cargoes, and that the King intended to send ambassadors with the Hollanders to the Continent, in order to enable them to load two more ships; for which purpose he requested that some of the principal officers of the fleet might be sent to Candy, in order to make the bargain, whereon he would cause the cinnamon and pepper to be collected from every direction. All these fair speeches failed to induce the Vice-Admiral and his council to change their views, and only trifling purchases of cinnamon were made near the ships, which departed, on the last day of July in 1603, from the coast of Ceylon, and sighted the coast of Sumatra on the 9th of the ensuing August.

The Portuguese were naturally exasperated at the progress of the Hollanders in the East Indies, and opposed them as much as possible, and this it was that made it necessary to equip armed fleets. One of these expeditions was fitted out, about the end of 1603, under the command of Stephen van der Hagen, as Admiral, and Cornelius Sebastiansz as Vice-Admiral.

Expedition of a fleet of 12 vessels commanded by the Admiral Stephen van der Hagen.

The names of the twelve vessels of the fleet were as follows:—For the Chamber of Amsterdam:—The *United Provinces*, of 700 tons burden; the *Amsterdam*, of 500 tons; the *Court of Holland*, of 340; the *Delft*, of 300; and the *Little Dove*, of 60 tons burden. For the Chamber of Zealand:—The *Dortrecht*, of 700 tons burden; and the *Zealand*, of 500. For the Chamber of Hoorn and Enchuisen:—The *Hoorn*, of 700 tons; the *Medemblick*, of 250, the *Westfriese*, of 500, and the *Enchuisen*, of 300 tons; and for the Chamber of Amsterdam the *Gouda*, of 260 tons burden.*

This fleet was manned by twelve hundred men, and the cost of its armament amounted to 2,090,368 livres. It suffered from storms, but on the 21st September 1604, the whole of it, except the *Delft*, the *Enchuisen* and the *Little Dove*, arrived on the coast of Goa, and cast anchor, on the 24th, at the mouth of the river of that name, at a distance of one league from the fort, to wait for the arrival of the Portuguese ships; but only a few galleys were seen, and these were so much on their

* T. V. p. 5 seq.

guard, and sailed so well, that none one of them could be overtaken. On the 2nd October, the ships advanced further up the river, in chase of four galleys which could not be taken. On the 13th, they sailed as far as the fort of Bardez, where they found some men-of-war, but did not dare to attack them. because the shore was so crowded with armed people that it seemed all the forces of the kingdom of Portugal had arrived to fight the Hollandish vessels. In the evening four galleys approached them, but were driven off by a few cannon shots. When, however, on the 14th of the same month, eleven Portuguese men-of-war arrived and cast anchor at Goa, the Hollanders retired and sailed towards Calicut.

On the 26th, they anchored under the fort of the town of Cananore, and when the Captain sent a boat to the shore to bring an interpreter to enable him to converse with the people, it was fired on by some Portuguese concealed behind a rock, but the crew repulsed them, the Moor inhabitants remaining indifferent, and the Portuguese of the fort not daring to fire, as the King had prohibited their doing so. In the afternoon some Moors came on board with a flag of truce and a letter from the King, to the following purport:—"He had heard long ago that the Hollanders were sworn enemies of the Portuguese, and this induced him to believe they had cast anchor so close to the fort with the intention of surprising it, but he advised them not to do so, as it was in good condition and well provided with ammunition; moreover, his ancestors had, for 120 years, taken the Portuguese under their protection, and his desire also was to protect them. He had considered it necessary to inform the Hollanders of this, and he desired them to be his friends, and requested them not to undertake such an enterprise, but rather retire; likewise, not to attempt anything against the Maldive Islands, or distress his subjects with their ships, in order to avoid hostilities on both sides." The Hollanders promised to comply with these demands, and continued their route to Cananore, where they cast anchor on the 27th, and the next day the Vice-Admiral, Cornelius Sebastiansz, was deputed, with the factor Houtman and some others, to salute the Zamorin, who was the King of Calicut, and, as it were, the Emperor of the Malabar Coast. In the roadstead there were nine frigates, and a few sloops were armed to attack them; but they defended themselves so vigorously that the Hollanders were compelled to bring up more forces, whereon they captured one of them, containing eighty men, fifteen of whom were Portuguese and the rest Moors. All, however, jumped overboard and were drowned, except six who were made prisoners, and three who escaped by swimming. Nothing more than 25 barrels of gunpowder, which the Portuguese were sending to their fort in Ceylon, was found in the frigate.

On the 3rd November 1604, four men came on board the Admiral's ship, on the part of the King, and requested him to cast anchor near the spot where his army had been drawn up to march against the Portuguese, and where an interview might take place. Accordingly, anchor was weighed and the fleet sailed to the locality pointed out.

The next day the Hollanders discovered nineteen frigates sailing close to the coast, and distressed them considerably with their fire, but were unable to overtake them on account of the calm. They learnt, however, from the natives that many persons had been killed in them. Shortly afterwards two country vessels came in sight, which the four envoys of the Zamorin said were Portuguese; they were attacked and captured, but as they were found to contain nothing but cocoanuts, they were allowed to depart. On the 6th of the same month of November, the *Delft*, the *Enchuisen* and the yacht *Little Dove*, which had been left near Mozambique to cruize for carraques (small vessels), rejoined the fleet and advanced to the place where the army of the Zamorin was encamped.

On the 8th the Zamorin, who, from what he saw going on daily, had come to the conclusion that the Hollanders were the enemies of the Portuguese like himself, desired to treat with the Admiral. The council of the fleet accordingly resolved that the Admiral should go on shore with the factors Houtman, Compostoel, Alterman, Captain Nicholas Thyoz and some others. When they had landed, the Zamorin received them with great civility, and a treaty of alliance was concluded in writing, and sworn to solemnly by both parties. The Zamorin granted the Hollanders liberty to trade for ever in all the territories subject to his sway, and requested them to carry the original of the treaty to Holland. Everything having been arranged, the Admiral returned on board with his suite. On his return the council decided to send the ships *Zealand* and *Enchuisen* to Cambay, to endeavour to trade there; but, at the request of the Zamorin, the other ships of the fleet sailed to Cochin.

On the 4th November 1604, the fleet reached the coast of Cochin, and continued to sail along it till it arrived near enough to the harbour to see all the vessels it contained; but, as no one in the fleet had ever been there, no attempt was made to enter it without a pilot, and the fleet continued its voyage to Ceylon, where it cast anchor opposite Colombo, which belonged to the Portuguese. The latter fired a few cannon shots at the ships, which were duly replied to, and on the 13th December 1604, the fleet reached the coast of Sumatra.

*(To be continued.)*

E. REHATSEK.

## ART. VII.—KARACHI.

### (A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW.)

HIGH up on the map, in the most north westerly corner of the Great Indian Peninsula, there projects boldly out to sea the bluff, rocky headland of Manora. On its summit flies the British flag; from its crest frown British cannon; under its shelter ride safely at anchor the friendly merchant ships which carry no unimportant portion of the trade between Europe and the east. Bordering this prominence, the coast is low and sandy, and dangerous to mariners, as more than one unfortunate master has found to his cost, who—losing his bearings and missing the friendly beacon which shines from Manora lighthouse, 120 feet above sea level,—has been driven by south-westerly gales into the jaws of semi-submerged and treacherous mangrove swamps, where he has made shipwreck. The promontory, projecting south-eastward from the mainland, and leaving a space of about three miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east, thus encloses a large, but shallow, smooth water bay, which may be described as the finest natural harbour that India can boast. The reef has an elevation, where it is united with the mainland, of about 40 feet, and rises gradually to a height of 100 feet at its extremity, on which stands Fort Manora. Its mean width is less than a mile, and it consists of soft sandstone and conglomerate—a barren and waterless soil. On the western shore of this stony neck of land the waves of the Arabian Sea for ever beat, now lulled to a rhythmic dalliance, now lashed into fury by the south-west monsoon; while on the eastern shore is peace and shelter.

This much has Nature conceded to man. And man has added to it by running out from the spit an artificial break-water, affording complete shelter to ships in the entrance channel, by cutting a wide and deep road through the sandy bar which lies across the mouth of the harbour, and deepening the haven itself, thus rendering it available for a fleet of the largest ships that float.

The break-water, the main feature in the improvements of the harbour, is 1,500 feet in length, and runs into five fathoms of water. Founded on rubble stone, the superstructure consists of huge cubes of concrete, weighing each twenty-seven tons, and laid, each reclining against its neighbour, at an angle of about 30° with the horizon. These magnificent pieces of béton were made at Manora, the ingredients being the conglomerate of

which the hill is composed, mixed with Portland cement. They were moulded under screw pressure, and, as they set, were laid in place by a powerful travelling crane, projected forward on a line of rails as the work progressed. The work, commenced in 1869, was brought to completion in 1873, at a cost of ten lakhs of rupees. During the south-west monsoon, to watch from the heights of Manora the rollers dashing against this solid mass, to be hurled as foam forty feet into the air and descend in endless showers of spray, is a truly fascinating sight.

Overlooking the break-water, and on the very edge of the cliff, stands the Fort. Until quite recently the Military Department were content to hold the old Sindi citadel, taken when Sind was annexed ; but of late years these obsolete works have been entirely dismantled, and the fort has been reconstructed on scientific principles. It carries disappearing guns of the modern type, it is cut off from the ridge behind by a deep and wide ditch, and the face of the cliff to seaward—which for years had suffered rapid erosion from the waves (being composed of friable conglomerate)—has been revetted strongly from top to bottom with solid masonry. Below the fort, the hill has been tunnelled into chambers forming magazines.

On the reef, and behind the fort, are accommodated, in substantial stone buildings, the pilot and port establishments, and a portion of the Indo-European Electric Telegraph staff. A library and billiard room, a school for European and Eurasian children, a small Protestant church, alongside of which towers the lighthouse, and a few coal-sheds and boat-houses, complete the surroundings of this small colony. Practically speaking, they are islanders, for their only means of communication with Karachi is by boat across the harbour, the mainland north of them being an arid, flat waste extending to the base of the Pubb Mountains. For their supplies, too, they are dependent on the capital of Sind, for Manora can boast of no single acre of arable land, or spring of potable water. But the place is nevertheless healthy in the extreme, being high and open to the sea-breeze on every side.

On the opposite side of the harbour stands Kiamari, nominally an island, but gradually, owing to extensive reclamation works, becoming united with the mainland. From its southern extremity runs out to sea a stone groyne, nearly two miles in length—a work carried out in connection with the harbour improvements, the point of the groyne and the point of Manora break-water thus representing, as it were, the gate pillars to the harbour entrance. As the port of Karachi, the position of Kiamari is, perhaps, somewhat isolated, but, although it is separated from the city by a distance of over three miles, its communications by road, rail, and tram neutralize this drawback.

Facing the sea, stand the Erskine wharf and the Merewether Pier, alongside of which a number of ships of the deepest draught can find berths; also the commissariat, passenger, customs and railway piers, for smaller craft to land passengers and goods. The wharves are furnished all along with powerful hydraulic cranes, with electric light, and with railway sidings to facilitate the loading and discharging of cargo; and there is a plentiful supply of fresh water brought in pipes from Karachi. To the back of this sea front stand the buildings containing the hydraulic machinery which supplies power to the cranes; also extensive lines of substantially constructed sheds for storing grain, the property of the Port Trust and the North Western Railway; the post office; a Seamen's Rest; a Roman Catholic Chapel; sheds and offices belonging to the Commissariat Department; the dwelling-houses of the resident European and Eurasian staff, and behind these, again, the native bazaar, in which live the crews of the harbour lighters and native boats, the coolies engaged in loading ships, and a few *bunniahs* and other shopkeepers and *dubashes*, who find a living in catering for the community.

The area conveniently accessible to the sea front being as yet limited, extensive reclamation is still being carried on, and it is probable that, before many years have elapsed, Kiamari will have developed into a very well ordered port. The railway, the Port Trust, the Customs, the Commissariat, the Post Office, the Police and other Departments, are at present each allotted as much space as possible, but it must be admitted that they are inconveniently crowded, and that an expansion, by further reclamation, is most desirable. This, we have seen, is being carried out.

There are three main arteries connecting Kiamari with the capital. The high road, known as the Mole, is a continuous embankment, some forty feet wide, five or six feet above spring tides, and having its slopes solidly aproned with stone pitching. Starting from Merewether Pier, it ends at the Karachi Custom-house, which extends across the road on five arches, through which all the traffic passes. Shortly before reaching the main shore, the Mole is carried on a handsome pile bridge, 1,200 feet long, over the Chinee Creek—an arm of the sea running from the harbour inland, in a easterly direction. This frith is of incalculable value to the harbour, for, with a falling tide, it acts as a natural dredger, by pouring an immense volume of water at a high velocity right through the harbour from end to end, thus assisting the Engineer materially in keeping open the main channel.

On the Mole is laid the tramway, along which cars pass from morning to night under a seven minute service. The

Mole, as a driving road, has been thus somewhat spoiled, and it is to be hoped that, in years to come, when the Kiamari reclamations shall have expanded to such an extent as to merge over a longer line with the mainland, room will without difficulty be found to allot the tramways a strip of land to themselves. The widening of the present Chinee Creek viaduct, or the construction of an additional bridge, would, of course, follow as a necessity. In the meantime there is a brisk traffic along the highway, which not seldom becomes congested.

The second artery between the port and the city is the railway. Carried on an embankment similar in construction to, but less wide than, the Mole, it starts from Kiamari on the left of, and parallel with, the Mole, which it crosses, shortly afterwards turning to the right, and again resuming its parallelism (now on the right of the Mole) where it passes over the Chinee Creek. Carried across on an iron pile bridge, the line runs past the Custom-house up to the main city station, which stands in the heart of mercantile Karachi. This section of the railway was constructed in 1887 only, the old line, mentioned further on, not having been found sufficient to carry the whole of the traffic which has accrued of late years.

The space between the railroad and the Mole, before they cross, is an extensive and almost stagnant inland sea. There are a few waterways in the railway bank, to allow of the tide running in and out, so as to flush this lake and keep it sweet; but the area is gradually being reclaimed with sand obtained by dredging the harbour, and when it shall have been raised to the road level, it will form a most valuable plot for building purposes. Kiamari, which is now so crowded, will then spread itself out into a more convenient and well arranged seaport town. But this area is large, and its reclamation will be the work of many years.

The third artery above alluded to is the old railway line between Kiamari and Karachi Cantonments. Starting from Merewether Pier, and at right angles to the new line above spoken of, it hugs the open sea shore for about two miles, after which, turning to the left, it heads straight for the cantonment railway station, which stands about three miles from the city depôt. The Chinee Creek, where this line crosses, is no longer the formidable estuary we saw further west, requiring 1,200 feet of freedom. It is here accommodated with two small timber pile bridges, affording, in all, about one hundred feet of waterway.

This branch was the work of the old Sind Railway Company. The traffic is much facilitated by having these two independent highways to the port: produce from up-country

arriving ready for export, naturally finds its way over the old line, there being no object in railing it beyond the Cantonment station on the main line, whereas goods which require handling before shipment—such as bones, which have to be ground, or cotton, which has to be pressed—proceed to the city station, whence they are again, by the new line, forwarded to Kiamari, after having undergone these or any other necessary processes in the local factories.

Such are the three routes by which Karachi is approached from its seaport. So far as rail and tram communication is concerned, they will probably suffice for many years to come; but, with the development of trade, the pressure of traffic along the Mole will, before long, be found to be excessive, and the question of constructing one or more additional highways will have to be faced.

At the northern end of the Chinee Creek viaduct, on the Mole, and running in a westerly direction into the harbour, is the native jetty, a substantially built stone wharf for the use of native craft of low tonnage, alongside of which are to be seen, in seemingly inextricable confusion, the masts and rigging of hundreds of boats.

Between the Mole and the old railway line on the shore of the creek, which has here a fair depth of water and is always calm, stands the boat-house, the property of the Karachi Boat Club. It is a pretty châlet of wood, and the club boasts of not a few fine English-built rowing and sailing boats.

From the Custom-house, which, as we have seen, is the western portal of Karachi, two main thoroughfares run through the city. Bifurcating at a point situate about a quarter of a mile beyond the arched gateway, where is now being erected the Merewether Memorial Clock-tower, the left hand road leads to the old native quarter, originally a small fishing village, now a populous town of 74,000 inhabitants. There stand the jail; a meat and vegetable market; civil hospital; charitable dispensary, and the Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Schools. It is here that the Church Mission Society have pitched their camp, and erected Christ Church and the Mission Schools. A handsome *Serai*, for the use of the Afghan and Belochi *kafilas* which constantly visit Karachi, completes the list of buildings worthy of note in this part of the city.

The road passing to the right of the clock-tower, through the business portions of the town, leads to the cantonments, generally spoken of as "Camp." It is a fine, wide thoroughfare, serving the banks, courts, European merchant's godowns, cotton presses, metal marts, engineering workshops and offices. To the left, stand the Government Telegraph buildings and the General Post Office, both buildings of some pretensions.

To the right, the terminal railway station, with its extensive sidings, goods offices and other godowns; the Municipal Engineer's office and stores; the steam-ship Company's offices; Telephone Exchange, and so on.

Camp once reached, Karachi changes its appearance entirely. In place of the crowded and dusty streets through which we have passed,—where the din of unceasing traffic jars on the ear; where Sindi cartmen, Punjabi coolies, Arab sailors, Bombay *borahs*, Eurasian clerks and semi-African *Seedee* boys jostle each other from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof—we have wide and well-watered roads, lined with handsome villas, the dwellings of the European community: roads almost deserted, as is the case in most Indian stations, during the working hours of the day, but springing into life in the cool of the afternoon, when the fashionable world, after the fatigues of the day, or wearied with its *ennui*, as the case may be, emerges in carriage, or on horseback, to enjoy the mild sea-breeze that seldom fails during these evening hours.

The tall square tower of Trinity Church; the wooden spirelet of Frere Hall, coated with Muntz metal, resplendent in the sun; the handsome stone club buildings, and Government House, the residence of the Chief Commissioner, form the prominent features of this part of Karachi. This is the fashionable quarter, where the houses have some architectural pretensions, and stand surrounded by tastefully laid out gardens, and where consequently rents run high.

To the east of this we find the Napier Barracks, a magnificent pile in which the European troops are accommodated, and the cantonment, railway station, and locomotive workshops. Travelling north again, we reach the Sudder Bazar, containing English and Native shops, St. Patrick's, the Roman Catholic Church and Convent, and the Scotch Presbyterian Church, east of which has recently been erected an exceedingly handsome market. The arsenal also stands here, containing a large quantity of shot, shell and powder, and, behind that again, the travellers' bungalow, inconveniently far, perhaps, from the railway station, but in other respects an excellent specimen of its class.

Passing still further north of St. Andrew's Kirk, by a drive of about a mile, with the Native Infantry barracks to the right, and many bungalows of a somewhat ancient type to the left, we reach at length the Government Gardens, stocked with plants and animals of various kinds, the Sunday evening *rendezvous* of all the world and his wife. This, with the dry bed of the Liyari river, completes Karachi to the north.

Returning to the vicinity of Frere Hall, we find two highways running almost due south down to the sea. These lead to Clifton, which is nothing more than a high sandhill on the

sea-coast, and affords a favourite evening drive, and to Gizri Sanitarium, where convalescent soldiers are sent to recruit in the stiff sea-breeze which blows almost perennially.

This completes the map of Karachi, and if the writer has succeeded in making himself geographically clear, it will be seen that the place is very much scattered and covers a large area. The aspect of the place, generally, may be described as barren, sandy and glary, and those whose business takes them much out of doors, are wise if they protect their eyes with dark glasses.

It may now be interesting to make more detailed mention of the more important public works and institutions. To begin, then with the oldest: Trinity Church stands on its own ground, fifteen acres in extent and walled in all round. Its principle feature is its tall square tower, built in the Italian style, 150 feet in height, which forms a landmark seen of ships at sea for many miles. It was designed and built by Captain John Hill, of the Bombay Engineers, in 1852, at a cost of Rs. 57,000. Its nave, 115 feet in length, and 58 feet in width, is capable of seating 800 worshippers, and it is furnished with clock-chimes, which ring out the hour of day every fifteen minutes. The organ is said to be a fairly good instrument; but it suffers much in the hot, damp climate of Karachi, its constant disorders causing no little vexation of spirit to those who appreciate good choir music.

South of the Church stands the fine Municipal building known as Frere Hall, erected at a cost of about two lakhs in honour of Sir Bartle Frere, who was Commissioner of Sind from 1851 to 1859. The hall, which was completed in 1865, is the design of Captain St. Clair Wilkins, R. E, and is of the Venetian Gothic style, its main feature being an upper storey auditory, 70 feet long by 35 feet wide, and 38 feet in height. The ceiling is a handsome specimen of *deodar* work, and the floor, of Burmah teak, is said by terpsichoreans to be perfect for dancing. At one end is an orchestral gallery, and at the other a space shut off by tall glazed doors which affords room for a stage when theatrical performances, or a supper room, when balls, are given Below the hall, on the ground floor, is a museum and library, in the former of which a large number of sadly inartistic specimens of the taxidermist's art are displayed (the Bengal tiger especially looking as though he were suffering from the effects of a previous night's debauch), and the latter containing rich food for the mind, in the shape of about 7,000 volumes. A reading room, free to the public, is also attached, the finances of which, however, would seem to be in anything but a flourishing condition, judging by the scanty supply of newspapers and periodicals on its tables.

The permanent establishment consists of an unsalaried Honorary Secretary, a paid librarian, curator and peons, the entire cost of which is defrayed by the Karachi Municipality. The grounds on which the Hall stands, are enclosed by a chaste iron railing, the design of Mr. James Strachan, M.I.C.E., the present engineer to the Municipality, and erected about the year 1875. Within this enclosure is a neatly designed bandstand where the regimental bands perform on Saturday evening.

Next in order of architectural importance, in this part of Karachi, is the Sind Club, a handsome upper storeyed stone building, erected about ten years ago. The rooms are lofty and airy, the floors are of inlaid Minton tiles, and the furniture is of superior English manufacture. It may be said to be, as a club, without a rival in Northern India. The entrance fee of Rs. 200 may perhaps be regarded by some as high for a fluctuating population like that of Sind, but, in view of the large amount of money spent on the buildings, this is probably unavoidable.

Government House, to the west of the Club, is a long building, internally everything that could be desired for comfort and convenience, but with an exterior possessing no pretensions whatever to architectural effect. It was built by Sir Charles Napier, when Governor of the Province, and sold by him to the Government of India.

The St. Patrick's Church and School, above alluded to, was commenced as far back as 1859, and did not reach its present complete condition until 1870. The School building consists of a central tower with two wings, with its class rooms and refectory on the ground floor, and its dormitories above, where are also the nun's private apartments. It is capable of accommodating forty boarders and two hundred day scholars. The institution is under the supervision of a Lady Superior, assisted by several nuns and lay sisters. The Municipality give a monthly grant-in-aid of Rs. 60 to the school. The Church is a separate building, erected by subscription, and is capable of seating about 700 persons.

For the children of Protestants, the European and Indo-European School was founded in 1854, under the auspices of Sir Bartle Frere. A sound and liberal education is afforded to the children of Europeans and Eurasians residing in Sind, and to the children of European soldiers. It is supported by school fees and grants from Government and the Municipality. Its buildings present no architectural features worthy of note.

St. Andrew's, the Presbyterian place of worship, is the design of Mr. Newnham, late Chief Engineer of the Sind Railway, its style being Gothic of the 14th century. It is perhaps the most pleasing architectural specimen in Karachi. The steeple

is 135 feet high, and there is a fine rose window 18 feet in diameter at the south end. The building cost Rs. 56,000, of which Rs. 25,000 was contributed by Government. It affords room for 400 people and, as there is a large Scotch community in Karachi, is fairly well filled at its services. The organ was built by Mr. F. E. Robertson, whose name is well known in connection with the Sukkur Bridge, and who is now Chief Engineer of the East Indian Railway.

Christ Church, standing in the heart of the native town, belongs to the Church Mission Society. It is a small, but neat, structure in the early English style, seating about 200 persons, and was built in 1866. Both English and Native services are carried on by ordained European Missionaries. There is also a school affording accommodation for about 200 pupils. The Municipality contributes Rs. 50 per month to this educational institution.

There are also a Government High School, a vernacular school, and an Anglo-Vernacular School, non-denominational, and housed in buildings of a very ordinary type. These, and two private Parsee Schools, complete the educational establishments in Karachi.

The Napier Barracks have already been passingly alluded to. They were built in the time of Sir Charles Napier, and afterwards added to in 1868 at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. The upper dormitories are 279 feet long, and 25 feet wide, with 12 feet verandahs on both sides. At either end of each block, of which there are ten in number, are the Sergeants' quarters, and the lower storeys consist of day-rooms for the men, recreation rooms, and regimental offices. They are capable of housing an entire regiment of infantry. The popular King's Own (East Lancashire) are the present occupants.

The artillery are housed in three fine upper-storeyed barracks south of the Arsenal, near to which are a hospital, gunsheds, stables, workshops, officers' mess, &c. The native infantry (Belochis) barracks are mud bungalows of the good old type, on the road to the Zoological Gardens.

The Civil hospital, 340 feet long, and double-storeyed, is a conspicuous, though not a particularly handsome, building. It was erected partly by Government in 1854, and completed by the Sind Railway Company in 1859. It contains wards, accommodating seventy-five beds.

Karachi boasts of a large jail, with room for 800 prisoners. It is, perhaps, worth noting that, of the two classes received here, that is Mahomedans and Hindus, twelve per cent. only belong to the latter. There are extensive workshops inside, where the prisoners are employed making hemp rope, chairs, carpets and tents.

The Freemasons are in great force in Sind and hold their meetings in a large, but extremely unsightly, building, near Trinity Church.

Among more recently constructed buildings must not be forgotten the new market, which stands to the east of St. Andrew's Church. Designed on the principle of the Crawford Markets in Bombay, it presents, with its tall clock tower, a prominent feature in the architectural beauties of the city. Meat, fish, fruit and vegetables have each their allotted quarter, and there is also a fancy bazar reminding one dimly of the Burlington arcade. The market is under the supervision of a European Superintendent, a most obliging son of Erin, who is only too eager to pilot round the establishment any ladies who may venture to try a little marketing for themselves. The building was designed and built by Mr. Strachan, before mentioned, the funds being found by the Municipality. If we now mention the City Railway Station, we shall have about completed the list of buildings which can lay claim to being ornamental. It is a long block, standing at right angles to the lines of rail, forming thus what Engineers term a dead-end to the Railway, the passenger and goods platforms jutting out at right angles to the building. The lower storey, which was built by the Sind Railway Company, contains the booking offices, public waiting rooms, telegraph and pay offices, and in the upper storey, which was added only last year by Government, are accommodated the offices of the Assistant Director in Sind and the District Traffic Superintendent and District Engineer.

The whole of Karachi is built with a light grey limestone, quarried about four miles off. It is soft and easily worked, and masonry is therefore cheap, but the stone weathers rapidly under the damp sea-breeze, and it is thus not very suitable for external cornices and mouldings. The Engineer who built Frere Hall, wisely took this into account, and for his verandah columns obtained a white oolitic limestone from Bolari, distant about 80 miles on the Railway. But this is a luxury, of course, which ordinary house-builders cannot afford, the cost of carriage of stone by rail over such a distance being prohibitive.

Karachi may be said to be undergoing complete renovation. The houses of the old style, composed of rubble stone, laid in mud, single storeyed, and covered with heavy, low, cylindrical tiled roofs, are gradually giving place to tastefully designed upper-storeyed buildings, in which the workmanship is of a vastly improved description. Rents for private houses run from Rs. 80 to Rs. 160, and as building is going on rapidly in the more fashionable quarter and along the Clifton Road, it is to be presumed that house property has proved a safe investment.

Another great improvement which has taken place of late years, is in the care and attention which has been bestowed on floriculture and arboriculture. To those who knew Karachi as it was ten to fifteen years ago, and who have not seen it since, a revisit now would be a surprising pleasure. Compounds erst bare of all vegetation have been translated into smiling flower gardens, and where formerly, under foot, were sand and scattered pebbles, is now soft, velvety turf, of a refreshing green. The trees along the highways are, as yet, scarcely old enough to afford much shelter; but they are struggling to grow, the poverty of the soil and the prevalence of the wind in one direction, which blows them over at an angle of twenty degrees from the perpendicular, notwithstanding.

This change is due entirely to water. Until quite recent years, Karachi depended entirely for its supply on a few brackish wells, and the uncertain freshets down the Liyari river. The great evil of a scarcity of good water had, however, early engaged attention, no less than ten different projects to obtain it from the Malir a river about fourteen miles distant from the town,, from wells in the Liyari, by canal from the River Indus, and from the Hubb river, a hill torrent twenty-two miles from Karachi, having been discussed and estimated. It was not until the year 1875 that Government and the Municipality finally determined on the Malir scheme, the design of their then newly appointed Engineer, Mr. Strachan—a scheme which he has carried to completion and which has accomplished all that, and more than, it promised.

The Malir, where the Railway crosses it, is fourteen miles from Karachi, a wide and sandy bedded river, dry, save after an occasional fall of rain in the hills, when it comes down in flood, sometimes with great violence, as was the case about the year 1865, when it carried away half the Railway bridge. To give an idea of its width, it may be mentioned that the Railway is carried over it on twenty-seven spans of eighty feet each, thus admitting nearly half a mile of waterway. Some five miles above the Railway bridge are the headworks, which consist of two wells of great diameter, sunk deep into the bed of the river. The water, at even the driest season of the year, is found a few feet below the surface, so that the wells at all times store up a goodly quantity. From the wells the water flows in pipes, in an arched masonry culvert and in an open conduit (according as the section of the country demands), entirely by gravitation, into Karachi, where it falls into a large settling tank, excavated on the hilly ground to the east of the Napier Barracks. Thence it is led in pipes all over the city, and even as far as Kiamari, the

levels being so arranged that water is laid on in the upper storey bathrooms of all houses whose owners choose to have it. Hydrants are placed in the streets at convenient spots, the arrangements by which *bhisties* fill their bullocks' *mussacks* by driving their animals under a low stone arch in the soffit of which is the delivery pipe, being especially convenient. The Railway, by an annual payment to the Municipality, obtain a liberal supply in their own tanks at ground level, whence it is pumped into high-pressure tanks on a tower, the summit of which is some thirty feet above the level of the rails. So plentiful is the water, that it runs from pipes all day long in private gardens all over cantonments, and it is thus gradually transforming an arid desert into a picturesque station. It follows, of course, that the old wells, with their saline water, are now almost entirely abandoned.

But if Karachi may be said to take rank as a first rate city, as far as its water supply is concerned, it is, in many other respects, still far behind the age. The lighting, for instance, is atrocious, consisting of here and there a few flickering kerosine burners; all the projects hitherto made for improving it having, it is said, failed to establish their financial soundness. Neither gas nor the electric light can be furnished without a large consumption of coal, and coal is as yet most expensive. It is not unreasonable to hope, however, that the oil from *Khattan*, or the coal from *Khost* may some day be produced in sufficient quantities, and at a sufficiently low rate, to solve the problem.

The existing drainage of Karachi is also most primitive. The city lies so low, being in fact but a few feet above the level of the tides, that no system based on gravitation can be effectually designed. The question is, however, now engaging attention, and the Municipality have submitted to the Bombay Government a project on the hydro-pneumatic plan, by which sewage can be ejected to any desirable level, the carrying out of which it is hoped Government will see its way to sanction.

Karachi can boast of fairly good roads as Indian stations go, but the soft stone of which their metal is composed is unfitted for heavy traffic. Consequently, in the busy locality near the Custom-House, wood-paving has been introduced as an experiment. That it wears uncommonly well is undeniable: whether it will repay the heavy initial cost is an open question.

The Tramway Company have laid their rails through all the main thoroughfares, over which the cars run at intervals of from five to ten minutes, and as the town is well provided with carriages on hire, the means of locomotion may be said to be excellent in quality and ample in quantity.

The European community is far more mixed than is the case in most up-country stations To the military and official elements is added a large percentage of mercantile people, Scotch, German and Greek, and the society may thus be described as most pleasant in its variety. The season, which lasts from June to September, this being the most agreeable part of the year, is usually very gay, amusements, public and private, following each other in rapid succession. The Artillery and British Infantry have each their own theatre, where the soldiers not seldom indulge the public with that melo-drama and tragedy of which they are such passed masters, and the *haut-ton* frequently crystallise into knots in order to display, on the boards of the Frere Hall stage, their histrionic powers.

The Assembly Rooms, or, as they are locally named, the *Gymkhana*, afford a pleasant resort, morning and evening, for pleasure-seekers. The building, erected some six or seven years ago, is substantial, having externally the appearance of an old English farm house, with its steep pitched roof and red tiles, and internally is arranged as a dancing hall, reading room, covered badminton court, and concert room. Lawn-tennis and badminton are here constantly played, and during the season smoking concerts are in fashion. There is much musical talent of a high order in Karachi, and some really good classical music is sometimes rendered. For other amusements, in addition to ordinary dinner parties and private dances, may be mentioned picnics in the harbour, where the members of the Boat Club occasionally arrange regattas, and where deep sea-line fishing is in vogue. Another favourite spot for picnics is *Magar Pir*, which place deserves a few lines to itself.

Seven miles north of Karachi is *Magar Talao* (Crocodile Tank), or *Magar Pir*, situate in a valley in the hills, about 800 feet high. It is a swamp, enclosed by a belt of lofty palm trees, and in it dwell unmolested hundreds of alligators. Close by, is a mosque dedicated to *Pir Hajji Mougho*, who is esteemed a saint by both Hindus and Mahomedans. The priests in charge feed the saurians, and act as showmen to visitors to the place. On payment of a trifling fee, a goat is sacrificed by having its throat cut, and is then thrown over the low parapet wall surrounding the tank, to the monsters below, who immediately rush at the prize, fighting and struggling in confusion for a share of the blood. The sight is disgusting in the extreme, more especially if the goat be thrown in alive, as is sometimes the case, unless the priests be especially forbidden to perpetrate this inhuman act of cruelty. The fate of a human being who should by accident fall over this dwarf wall, would be truly shocking. There is a legend extant in Sind,

that, many years ago, a young *griff*, fresh from home, laid a wager that he would, by stepping lightly over the backs of the alligators, cross from one side of the tank to the other in safety. He is said to have accomplished this feat, but to such as have witnessed the ferocity with which the brutes rush at, and attack, anything thrown in amongst them, the tale is quite incredible. The lad would have been torn to pieces in such an attempt.

Close by the tank is a small *dak-bungalow*, where visitors find shelter from the sun during the heat of the day. The picnic parties usually spend the entire day here, driving out, or riding out on camels, in the cool of early morning, and returning late in the afternoon. The road from Karachi is unmetalled: progress in a wheeled conveyance is therefore slow.

So far as sport is concerned, dwellers in the capital of Sind are fairly well off, those, at least, who have enthusiasm sufficient to carry them a short way out from Karachi itself. There is good *mahseer* fishing to be had in the river Hubb, which can be reached by camel, and where a small resthouse stands for the convenience of sportsmen. For small game shooting the valley of the Indus, with its spills from the river, occurring at every few miles, is renowned. These *dhunds*, as they are locally termed, get filled in the flood season, to be left when the river falls, full of stagnant water, thick with tangled weeds, and covered over the surface with blooming water lilies. Round the edges thick coarse grass usually grows in profusion, and, with this favourble cover, the *dhunds* are, in the cold weather, alive with wildfowl.

The nearest to Karachi of these swamps that is easily accessible is at *Yungshai*, a station on the railway, about fifty miles out. The Saturday night mail train from Karachi, during the shooting season, seldom fails to carry one or more parties of sportsmen, who, having completed their week's work, spend the Sunday among the Yungshai ducks. The *dhunds* are to be found here and there all the way up the line of railway, the largest being Lake *Mauchar*, opposite the town of *Schwan*. This place is reached by a night's run by rail, but, the lake lying some distance from the railway and being so large as to take some time to shoot—the birds by no means being always found in the same spot—it takes more than a Saturday to Monday trip to enjoy. Indeed, to make sure of good sport, a week is necessary, during which, camped in a tent along side the lake, near one of the fishing villages, the sportsman spends his whole day in one of the flat-bottomed native boats which abound, in being poled from place to place in search of wildfowl. As the lake, when full, is from fifteen to twenty, by

ten miles in extent, it is easy to conceive that there is room on it for an unlimited number of guns The open water, some little way off the shore is, during the cold weather, black, in patches, with wild duck, the effect of a shot fired being that they rise *en masse* with a perfect *roar* of wings. They are by no means easily bagged thus in the open, however, having a very shrewd notion of what gun range means. Better sport is, in fact, generally to be obtained among the thick bulrushes which line the shore, where the duck are surprised, and rise like partridges, right under the prow of the boat It is needless to say the ducks are in great variety, no less than twenty-seven kinds having been noted, from the small common teal to the heavy and not at all gamey "Brahmini," the most common, perhaps, being the mallard, gadwell, redheaded pochard and the shovellers Geese, flamingo, pelicans, herons, storks, terns and cormorants also abound, the lake being thus literally alive with the feathered tribe. Round the edges, and here and there on islands, very good snipe-shooting is to be had, and here, also, a few quail, black and grey partridge, and an occasional sand-grouse are likely to be flushed.

The natives snare the wildfowl by erecting long lines of nets into which the birds fly at night, and they have also another and more sportsmanlike *modus operandi* to secure them.

This is for a man in a nude state, with his body well protected by a coating of mustard oil, to put off from the bank with his head encased in the preserved skin of a goose or some other large specimen. The head and wings of the bird are arranged by these rough and ready taxidermists to resemble, as nearly as possible, the living creature, and thus disguised, this decoy quietly wades along up to his neck in water until a flock of duck, sitting on the water, having been reached, one or more of the number fall victims by being pulled under by the legs, when the sportsman fastens them to a girdle round his waist and again makes for the shore. The birds, thus secured alive, are sold in the Schwan market.

The lake is also teeming with fish, which are killed by the *Mohanas* (the fisher caste). This is accomplished in two ways. A small boat is gently propelled, the sportsman leaning over the side with a handful of very light reed spears, and peering into the transparent water below. The fish, swimming among the reeds, are easily seen, and with a dexterity, born of long practice, the bunch of spears is hurled and the victim below is transfixed. Another way, on a larger scale, of making a haul, is for a number of boats, say thirty or forty, to co-operate. They range themselves on the open lake in a crescent shape, and are then propelled, almost touching each other, in the direction of a long net which has been previously stretched

on poles sunk into the mud. This *armada*, in its progress, keeps up a diabolical din of *tom-toming*, yelling and beating of the boat-bottoms with wooden clappers made for the purpose and worked by the feet, and the fish, alarmed at the noise, are driven ahead until they fall victims in hundreds into the nets. The *Mohanas* live almost entirely on fish, and they are physically, perhaps, the finest specimens of the Sindi race, the men being tall, broad and deep-shouldered and narrow-waisted, while the women, many of them, would make neat models for a sculptor's chisel.

There is not much sport for the rifle in lower Sind. In the hills behind Schwan are to be found ibex and the wildsheep, *gud*, and in the plains, hog-deer and *Chinkara* are sometimes bagged. Black-buck are never seen. One or two tigers have been killed ; but the country is too dry for tigers, and does not afford that wealth of shelter which they delight in.

For those of more sedentary habits, who prefer the study of natural history to the pursuit of game, the Karachi Zoological Gardens are a source of much interest. Added to the lions and tigers, bears, monkeys, and deer of various species usually to be found in such collections, Karachi also boasts of some fine specimens of ostriches. These birds breed, but hitherto all attempts to rear the young have proved fruitless.

Another favourite amusement with the Europeans is turtle-turning on the seashore below Clifton. This is done at night, when a full moon favours the enthusiasts, of whom there are many, especially among the ladies.

Altogether, what with sport in the winter, and balls, parties, picnics, sky-races, concerts and theatricals in the summer months, no one, fond of excitement, need ever be dull in this city of the West.

For bookworms the Frere Hall library affords plenty of good solid reading, though it is much to be regretted that new books seem to be but seldom added to the collection.

The press in Sind, it must be acknowledged, is sadly behind the age. No less than three papers appear: the "*Sind Gazette*," the "*Sind Times*" and the "*Phoenix*," all tri-weeklies, in which the latest telegrams are to be found ; but the editorial talent is not of a high order, the journals being filled mostly with cuttings from the Bombay or up-country papers. The "*Pioneer*," the "*Civil and Military Gazette*" and the "*Week's News*" are, however, obtainable at Wheeler's book stall on the railway platform.

There is an opening for a first-class hotel. Two or three hotels exist ; but they are all very poor, the public, as a rule, preferring the travellers' bungalow to any of them. A good hotel on the Chifton road, open to the sea-breeze, with upper

storey bedrooms and a good table *d'hote* and billiard and coffee rooms, would probably pay, as many Government officials from up-country spend short leave in Karachi during the summer, and there is also a large community of bachelors resident in Karachi all the year round, who would prefer to live thus and avoid the trouble and expense of housekeeping, if only they could be insured a reasonable amount of comfort.

Living is dear, as it is in most Indian seaport towns. Meat is poor and expensive, but there is always a plentiful supply of good fish—soles, oysters, sea-salmon, &c.,—from the harbour, and the fruit market is kept fairly well stocked by the bi-weekly mail steamer arriving from Bombay; a supply of vegetables is regularly obtainable from the Government gardens before mentioned.

The shops are, of course, numerous, but, with the exception of one or two good chemists and general provision and wine merchants' establishments, they are not of a very high order, the ladies especially complaining of the want of some really fashionable "*modiste*."

The chief charm of the place is undoubtedly its climate. This is, on the whole, the most salubrious in Sind, the town being well open to the sea-breeze, which blows for eight months of the year. The rainfall is very low, for, though situate on the verge of both the S.-W. and the N.-W. monsoons, the city is unrefreshed by the water of either, the average fall being five inches only. The hottest months are April, May and October. From November to March the temperature is low over the whole of Sind, and from June to September a steady sea wind blows, which keeps down the thermometer along the coast line. Fifty miles inland, the sea-breeze is no longer felt, and the heat is intense. The mean temperature during the year in Karachi is said to be 77°. Punkahs are not used, and doors and windows are seldom closed against the heat. The air, however, is excessively damp, the climate is very relaxing, and there are many who prefer the burning inland plains, where the heat, though great, is perfectly dry. It is said by some that Karachi owes its salubrity in a great measure to the mangrove which grows profusely in the swamps between it and Kiamari, and over which the prevailing wind blows. The mangrove bush is a source of revenue to the Municipality, who exact payment from the owners of camels for cutting it down for the use of their beasts, who thrive on it. Historically, Karachi is a place of no interest whatever. It is believed to stand in the immediate neighbourhood of the site of the ancient seaport of *Dewal*, which, as far back as A.D. 711, is mentioned as having been captured and annexed during an Arab invasion of Sind. From that date no record exists up to about 1725, when it appears that Karachi had no existence

whatever. There was then, however, a town called *Kharak*, situate on the Hubb river, where it falls into the sea, which was in 1729, entirely deserted by its inhabitants, who found their trade with Muscat, Surat and Malabar falling off, owing to the increasing difficulty native craft experienced in approaching the place, by reason of the roadstead silting up. This community migrated and settled in a fresh spot, which they named *Kalachi-Kun*, where Karachi now stands. It belonged, at one period after this date, to the Khan of Kelat who, however, was forced to surrender it in 1795 to the Talpur Chiefs. Under this Government the trade of the place increased sensibly, and a fort was in 1797 built at Manora. In 1838 the population was 14,000 souls, half being Hindus, the remainder Mahomedans of the Baloch, Jokia, Mohana and Jât tribes, the two latter forming the fishing and artisan classes, and the Balochis taking service as soldiers. The Government of Karachi was, under the Mirs, vested in a civil and military governor, styled the Nawab, with uncontrolled authority, subject to appeal only before the Court of Hydrabad. The mercantile community was principally Hindu, many wealthy merchants living here who had agencies at Muscat, Bombay, Shikarpur and as far as Cabul and Herat. Some attention appears to have been paid to education under the Mirs' Government, there being both Brahmin and Mussulman schools, in the former of which Sindi was taught, the Mulas instructing in the Persian language. Such was the condition of Karachi when Sind was annexed by the British.

It was in connection with the Cabul campaign of 1838 that Sind fell into English hands. The despatch of a body of British troops from Bombay, *viâ* the Indus, to join the forces in the north, being necessary, Lord Auckland, then Governor-General, gave the order, and added *carte-blanche* to displace any chief who should prove unfriendly to, or refuse to assist the expedition. A hostile demeanour taken up by the ruling chiefs ended in the occupation of Sind by a British force, when fort Manora was captured. Sir Charles Napier was then commissioned, as first Governor of the Province, in 1842, with sole political authority over the territories of the lower Indus. He was not, however, destined to maintain supremacy without fighting for it, hostilities being opened by the Amirs of Sind with their Belochi followers, and the matter not being finally settled until its culmination in the battle of Miani, nine miles from Hydrabad. Shortly after this decisive victory, the Mirs of Khairpur and Hydrabad surrendered unconditionally.

Sir Charles' rule was the rule of the sword. He found many abuses to right, and he did this with the strong hand of a conqueror. Infanticide and wife murder, which were most prevalent, he entirely checked, and the oppression of villagers

by the native soldiery he punished with death. He also confirmed in the possession of their estates all Jagirdars who proffered their allegiance within a given time after the battle of Miani, and he remodelled entirely the judicial and revenue systems. In the midst of this exercise of statesmanship his military genius was not left idle, for in 1845 he, with 6,000 men, put down a rising of the robber tribes in the hills north of Sind, and in the following year he marched against Bawalpur from Sukkur, with 12,000 men and thirty guns, to coerce the Nawab into relinquishing the hostile attitude he had taken up against the British occupation. His proclamations to the newly conquered natives were of an autocratic form, his favourite way of finishing up being by saying : "The enforcement of obedience is like physic, not agreeable, but at times very necessary."

He governed the Province he had won for the Crown for four-and a-half years only, at the end of which time he passed through Karachi, on his way to England. A memorial window in Trinity Church and an obelisk on the Mole, erected on the very last spot of Indian soil which the Governor trod, remain to remind those now living of this gallant Englishman's career.

After his departure, the Province was placed under the Bombay Government, the first Commissioner being Mr. Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service. This officer carried on the administration for three years, at the close of which the reins were handed over to Mr. Frere (afterwards Sir Bartle), whose name is a household word in Sind. Under his administration the country became rapidly more peaceful and civilized. Old canals were cleared and new ones were constructed ; good roads were made and new villages sprang up with rapidity. Municipal Acts were brought into operation, and a judicial code was framed. Sir Bartle threw up office for a seat in the Supreme Council in 1859, respected and beloved by all classes, European and native, of the community, as was testified by the liberal manner in which subscriptions for the erection of Frere Hall in his honour soon came pouring in.

The great wave of the Indian Mutiny was felt in Sind, but happily the outbreak was promptly quelled. On the 14th September 1857, the 21st Bombay native infantry mutinied, the sepoys being told off to murder the European officials, including the Commissioner himself. But the conspiracy came to light, fortunately, in time for precautionary measures to be taken, and the ringleaders were captured, tried and punished, sixteen suffering the death penalty, and a large number being transported.

After Sir Bartle Frere came Mr. T. D. Inverarity's administration, after which that of Mr. S. Mansfield, who, in his turn, made it over to Sir William Merewether, whose name will ever be remembered in connection with the Karachi harbour works.

The first concrete block of the Manora breakwater was laid

by Sir William in 1870, and the last in 1873. The main pier at Kiamari, where ships of the deepest draught can touch Sind soil, bears his name. The clock-tower that is being erected to his memory, has already been alluded to.

Events, subsequent to the administration of this Commissioner, are of too recent occurrence to be dignified with the name of history. Suffice it to say that the country has been very much opened out during the past fifteen years by its railway communications with the Punjab.—the Sind Railway between Karachi and Kotri ( 105 miles ) constructed in Mr. Inverarity's time, having been extended up the valleys of the Indus and Sutlej as far as Multan, where it joins the Punjab and Delhi Railway to Lahore. The whole of the line is now incorporated with the system known as the North-Western Railway.

Owing to this opening of communications, and to the assurance masters now have of a safe anchorage in the harbour, the export trade is increasing rapidly, and all Sind now requires to complete her prosperity is a severance from Bombay, and yet further railway communication with the north. The two seaports compete with one another, and it would therefore be to the advantage of Sind to be independent, or, if not independent, to be annexed to the Punjab administration, whose interests do not clash with hers. Bombay, however, for obvious reasons, would fain let things remain as they are. She would prefer to have authority over her competitor, and there are a few fairly good appointments in the Sind Commission which the Bombay Civil Service would be loth to part with. The question has been for years, and still is, before the Supreme Government.

As regards the additional railway, the proposed alignment is from Kotri to Delhi direct, *viâ* the Bikaneer desert. On the strong representation of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, the Government have, for the past few years, been surveying alternate routes, the difficulties to be overcome being the presence of huge shifting sandhills and the paucity of water in the desert. These drawbacks, it is hoped, will be surmounted, and before long the line will most probably be constructed with private capital, if indeed the Government does not see reason to modify its present avowed intention of refusing to undertake its construction as a State work, or to give a guarantee.

As being the nearest Indian seaport to Aden, Karachi has, at any rate, a right to assert herself, and it is possible that in the near future she will have so far developed her trade as to warrant a direct weekly mail service with Europe being instituted. Beyond this are, of course, greater possibilities, which a future generation may see realised. If the Euphrates Valley line ever becomes an accomplished fact, the main portal of British India will be Karachi, the Capital of Sind.

E. B.

## ART. VIII.—THE SECRET OF THE ASSASSINS: A CRITICISM, AND A SUGGESTION.

WHEN Marco Polo undertook to enlighten Europe regarding the secret of the Assassins, the rough and ready critic of the day assailed his narrative with a storm of ridicule. It was M. Sylvestre de Sacy who first re-habilitated the story, which was subsequently adopted by Von Hammer, in his history of the Sect, and has since been generally accepted. It is questionable, however, whether the incredulity of the comtemporaries of the great Venetian traveller was not more reasonable than the confidence of the modern Orientalist. What M. Sylvestre de Sacy really proved, was not that the story was worthy of belief, but that Marco Polo, in relating it, was merely reproducing what he had read, or heard, from others. That it is essentially incredible, can, I think, be shown without much difficulty.

The annals of organised crime contain no chapter so marvellous, or so appalling, as that which deals with the history of the infamous Order founded by Hassan, the son of Sabah. Never has obedience so absolute been imposed by one man on many, as that which the Grand Masters exacted from their followers. Never has power so tremendous as that which they wielded for nearly two centuries, been based on material means so disproportionately slender, or employed for purposes so wholly diabolical. Never has any conspiracy against social order counted victims at once so numerous and so illustrious, or inspired so intense and universal a terror.

To trace in detail the career of this association of murderers, whose agents, in the words of one writer, "spread themselves in troops over the whole of Asia and darkened the face of the earth," forms no part of my present purpose. From the time when the Founder and first Grand Master of the Order, towards the close of the 11th century, possessed himself of the mountain stronghold of Alamut, till the surrender of its last Grand Master to Halaku, in 1257, their daggers, set in motion sometimes by avarice, sometimes by revenge, spared none, however great his power or his sanctity, whose death could subserve their ends. Such was the variety of the disguises assumed by their emissaries, such the prudence and caution observed by them, says William, Bishop of Tyre, that it was impossible for the destined victims to avoid their daggers. The only certain protection against them was insignificance. For the prince, the

vizier, the general, the only resource was the payment of a heavy ransom, or to be constantly armed and surrounded by guards. The latter precaution, indeed, often proved but a frail one; for among the guards and personal retinues of the great, were frequently to be found Assassins in disguise. Even the redoubtable Saladin, though he escaped with his life, was twice the mark for their poniards. Christians, as the murder of Raymond Count of Tripoli, before the altar, and probably that of Conrad, Marquess of Montferrat, testify, were no more secure from their vengeance than Muhammadans.

That, with comparatively insignificant military resources, the Assassins were able to establish themselves, openly and in most cases by force, in one after another of the strongholds of Irak-Arabia, Kohistan and Syria, must be attributed as much to the political circumstances of the times as to the dread in which they were held. The keystone of the system which made it possible for the Grand Master, from his chamber in the castle of Alamut, to hold half Asia for five generations under the dominion of the dagger, was the complete self-subjection of the devotees of the Order to his will. Melekshah, Sultan of the Seljuks, says Von Hammer, on the authority of Elmacini, having sent an ambassador to Hassan, the son of Sabah, the first of the Grand Masters, to require his obedience and fealty, he called several of the initiated into his presence; "Beckoning to one of them, he said, 'Kill thyself!' and he instantly stabbed himself: to another; 'Throw thyself down from the rampart.' The next instant he lay a mutilated corpse in the moat. On this the Grand Master, turning to the envoy, who was unnerved by terror, said: 'In this way am I obeyed by seventy thousand faithful subjects. Be that my answer to thy master.'"

Count Henry of Champagne, a century later, is said to have received a similar proof of the power of the then Grand Master.

What was the talisman by which the Grand Master achieved this absolute empire over the wills of his followers?

The explanation most generally received is that, within the precincts of his palace, the Grand Master caused delightful gardens to be laid out, where the beauties of nature were supplemented by all that art could suggest, to allure the senses. There flower beds of every hue delighted the eye; bubbling fountains mingled their sweet murmur with music and the song of birds, to charm the ear; luxuriously furnished pavilions invited to rest; seductive maidens, beautiful as the houris of Paradise, wooed to pleasure. To these gardens, after they had been rendered insensible by a preparation of Indian hemp, the youths who had been selected by the Grand Master to execute

his bloodthirsty behests, were conducted. There, when they awoke, they found themselves in an enchanted region, surrounded by what seemed more than mundane fascinations, and, "uncertain," to quote the words of M. Sylvestre de Sacy, "whether they were still on earth, or whether they had already entered upon the enjoyment of that felicity the picture of which had been so often presented to their imagination, they yielded in transport to all kinds of seduction." After passing a sufficient time in the full fruition of these pleasures, they were again rendered insensible by a further dose of the magic drug, and reconveyed into the presence of the Chief of the Order, who persuaded them that, though in the body they had never left his side, their souls had really been transported to Paradise and enjoyed a foretaste of the bliss reserved for the faithful. "Thus," says Von Hammer, "did these infatuated youths blindly dedicate themselves as the tools of murder, and eagerly seek an opportunity to sacrifice their terrestrial, in order to become partakers of eternal, life."

Such, in substance, is the current legend, based partly on Marco Polo's narrative, partly, as M. de Sacy shows, upon the accounts of some of the Arab chroniclers of the wars of Saladin, and, in respect of one particular, on an inference drawn from certain expressions in those accounts by modern scholars.

Neither Marco Polo nor the chroniclers state, in so many words, that the drug used by the Grand Master of the Assassins was Indian hemp. Marco Polo speaks of it merely as a certain potion (*"quendam potum"*), and of the Sect as *"Assasini."* The Arab chroniclers, while describing the Sect indifferently as Ismaelis, Batenies, and Hashishin, speak of the Grand Master as the "Possessor of hashish." It is upon this use of the word Hashishin, and of hashish, which, means both grass and Indian hemp, that the inference in question is based.

That the generally accepted derivation of the name *Hashishin* from the Arabic word, *Hashish*—Indian hemp—is correct, may, I think, be regarded as beyond dispute; and the inference is natural, if not inevitable, that its application to the Order founded by Hassan ibn Sabah implied a belief, on the part of those who so employed it, in the existence of some connection between that Order and the use of *hashish*. If, indeed, any doubt existed on either point, it would be disposed of by the fact that the writers who thus used the name, also described the Grand Master of the Order as the "Possessor of hashish." From the belief in such a connection to its reality, however, is a long step; and from the reality of the connection to the truth of Marco Polo's story, again, would be a much longer one.

The bare existence of the belief creates, at the best, but a weak presumption in favour of the reality of the fact believed in. Before we can estimate its value as evidence of such reality, we require to know the grounds on which it was based; and of the nature of those grounds we have no evidence whatever. That the belief was based on hearsay, is more than probable. It may have been founded upon mere conjecture on the part of one or more individuals, of the sources of whose information, or the competence of whose judgment, we have no knowledge. We do not even know whether the contemporary usage of the name was general, or whether it was confined to certain chroniclers, from some one of whom it may have been adopted by the rest.

In the former case, the presumption in favor of the reality of the connection would gain a little—not much—in strength. But what would follow? By just so much as the presumption gained in strength, the story itself would lose in credibility. For under such circumstances the connection, instead of corroborating the truth of the story, would be incompatible with it; inasmuch as the truth of the story implies secrecy, while the common currency of the name would imply publicity. That all the world should have believed the Assassins to be the victims, or the votaries, of hashish, while the Assassins themselves were the votaries of hashish without knowing it, is in the highest degree improbable. It is, indeed, conceivable only on the supposition that those who used the word did so without any knowledge of its real meaning, and that those to whom it was applied were equally ignorant, But what, in that case, becomes of the value of the usage as evidence of the fact?

There are, however, other and more conclusive reasons for rejecting Marco Polo's story.

That any sane man, awaking in a terrestrial garden made with human hands, however lovely it might be, and consorting there with terrestrial women, however transcendantly fascinating, should, for the space of a single hour, have believed the garden to be Paradise and the women to be houris, would, even on the supposition that he was previously unaware of the existence of the place, be barely credible. That the hallucination should have continued for days, would be still harder to believe. That thousands upon thousands of sane men, in succession, should have been thus deluded, and that the deception should have gone on for generations undiscovered, altogether surpasses the bounds of reasonable credence. However dazzling the *tout ensemble* of the scene might have been, the earth would still have been common earth, the water ordinary water, differing in no way from the earth or the water with which they were familiar in their daily lives; the trees and the flowers, however cunningly

arranged, would, after all, have been indistinguishable from the trees and flowers they had been accustomed to see elsewhere; the women, whatever their charms, would have been of the same flesh and blood as other women; the vicissitudes of temperature and weather; the succession of day and night; the physical accidents which human flesh is heir to, would have followed their customary course.

But the supposition that the existence of these marvellous gardens was a secret, known only to a few, is obviously untenable. Such gardens as are described by the chroniclers, with their gay flower beds; their umbrageous groves; their canals and fountains; their luxurious pavilions and porcelain kiosks, could not have sprung up in a night. Their construction must have occupied months, if not years, during which skilled artisans must have been employed by scores, and workmen of various kinds by thousands. Their maintenance must have afforded constant work to a large staff of gardeners; great quantities of materials must have been brought from a distance to build and furnish the kiosks and pavilions. Is it conceivable, for a moment, that work of such a kind and of such magnitude, could have been executed, and all the commerce and traffic implied in it carried on, without the facts becoming known to every man, woman, and child, for miles round? And if not, does not common sense revolt from the belief that thousands upon thousands of men who, preparatory to their being selected by the Grand Master of the Order for the most confidential services, must have lived in the immediate neighbourhood for a considerable period of time, could have remained in these gardens for days in their sane senses without suspecting where they were?

But, it may, perhaps, be said, the chosen devotees were not in their sane senses; they continued under the influence of the mysterious drug with which they had been plied before being conveyed to the gardens.

Though this is not directly stated, it may possibly be implied by what is stated in Marco Polo's narrative. Certainly, some such supposition is necessary to lend even a momentary plausibility to the story.

In that case, all I can say is that the drug used could not have been Indian hemp. According to the story, it will be remembered, the neophyte was first rendered *insensible* by the drug; in this state of insensibility he was conveyed into the garden; and it was on his return to consciousness there that he fell under the monstrous delusion that he was in Paradise. Now, to anyone acquainted with the effects of Indian hemp, it will at once occur that there is something amiss here. For the state of *fantasia* produced by that drug, when it occurs,

does not follow, but precedes, that of unconsciousness, if unconsciousness occurs at all. This objection is not, perhaps, an absolutely fatal one; for, where so much is fantastic and obscure, there need be no difficulty in assuming that—not one dose, but—several successive doses of Indian hemp were administered to the victim. Or it may be assumed that some more appropriate drug was first employed to render him insensible, and that the hemp was administered afterwards, in the garden, *pro re natâ*.

But what then?—If there is one thing certain about the effects of Indian hemp, it is that the state of *fantasia* produced by it does not displace the ordinary consciousness of the patient, but is, so to speak, interpolated into it. In the midst of his wildest fancies he is keenly conscious not only of their unreality, but of the reality of his actual surroundings. If he beholds visions which bear no apparent relation to the things about him, he is fully aware that they are the creations of his brain. If he exaggerates or distorts what is present to his senses, he is not for a moment really deceived. Even when he laughs consumedly, as he commonly does, at what is not essentially ridiculous, he knows all the time that his laughter is unreasonable. In short, he is the subject of a dual consciousness.

One of the best and most interesting accounts which we possess of the state of *fantasia* induced by Indian hemp, is that given by Bayard Taylor in "The Lands of the Saracen." Wishing to try the effect of the drug, he had, while putting up at a caravanserai at Damascus, taken what he supposed to be a moderate dose, but what was really an excessive one. After passing some time in a state of mental exaltation, which he describes in glowing language, he suddenly found himself transported to the foot of the great pyramid of Cheops. "The tapering courses of yellow limestone," he says, "gleamed like gold in the sun, and the pile rose so high that it seemed to lean for support on the blue arch of the sky. I wished to ascend it, and the wish alone placed me immediately upon its apex, lifted thousands of feet above the wheat-fields and palm-groves of Egypt. I cast my eyes downward, and, to my astonishment, saw that it was built, not of limestone, but of huge square plugs of Cavendish tobacco. Words cannot paint the overwhelming sense of the ludicrous which I then experienced. I writhed on my chair in an agony of laughter, which was only relieved by the vision melting away like a dissolving view; till, out of my confusion of indistinct images and fragments of images, another and more wonderful vision arose. The more vividly I recall the scene which followed, the more carefully I restore its different features and separate the many threads of

sensation which it wove into one gorgeous web, the more I despair of representing its exceeding glory. I was moving over the desert, not upon the rocking dromedary, but seated in a barge made of mother-of-pearl, and studded with jewels of surpassing lustre. The sand was of grains of gold, and my keel slid through them without jar or sound. The air was radiant with excess of light, though no sun was to be seen. I inhaled the most delicious perfumes; and harmonies such as Beethoven may have heard in dreams, but never wrote, floated around me. The atmosphere itself was light, odour, music; and each and all sublimated beyond anything the sober senses are capable of receiving. Before me—for a thousand leagues, as it seemed—stretched a vista of rainbows, whose colours gleamed with the splendour of gems—arches of living amethyst, sapphire, emerald, topaz and ruby. By thousands and tens of thousands, they flew past me, as my dazzling barge sped down the magnificent arcade; yet the vista still stretched as far as ever before me. I revelled in a sensuous Elysium, which was perfect, because no sense was left ungratified."

Gradually the visions assumed more grotesque forms, and ultimately they became as horrible as they had at one time been delightful. But through all the rapture and all the horror of body and soul which he experienced, Bayard Taylor knew perfectly well where he was, and that the fancies which possessed him were merely the effect of the drug he had taken. While he was given up to the most magnificent delusion, he saw its cause and felt its absurdity with the most perfect clearness. "I was double," he says, "'not swan and shadow,' but rather, Sphinx-like, human and beast. A true Sphinx, I was a riddle and a mystery to myself."

I have experimented on myself with the drug in a variety of forms. I have taken it as majum, a sweetmeat similar to that taken by Bayard Taylor; I have eaten the leaves and flower heads, in both the fresh and the dried state; I have drunk an infusion of the plant, compounded with sugar and various condiments—the *siddee* of the Indian devotee—; I have smoked the plant; I have eaten the resinous extract; and, though the degree of fantasia I have experienced, has never approached that described by Bayard Taylor, I can fully corroborate his account of the dual character of the state of consciousness produced—of the persistence of an ever abiding sense of the realities of things, in the midst of the most fanciful hallucinations.

That habitual hashish-eaters become the subjects of permanent delusions which really impose upon them, the lunatic asylums of India abundantly testify. But they occur only as a result of lesions of the brain, caused by repeated over-stimulation

of the centres concerned. They are not of the character of those by which the Assassins are supposed to have been deluded; and they are, moreover, the marks of a mental condition which would have disqualified the "devoted" for the performance of the services required of them.

That the pleasing *fantasia*, unattended by any painful results, which is one of the effects of a moderate dose of the drug on novices in its use, is never accompanied by complete delusion, I will not go so far as to assert; for the possibilities of idiosyncracy are infinite. But it may be safely asserted that such cases are exceptional; whereas the truth of the story about the deception practised on the Assassins obviously requires that such complete delusion should have generally, if not invariably, accompanied the *fantasia*. Had it been the exception, and not the rule; or had it been only an occasional occurrence, the fraud could not have been kept up for a month, much less for more than a hundred and fifty years; and, under these circumstances, it is highly improbable that so astute a person as the first Grand Master of the Order should ever have had recourse to it.

A multitude of other reasons might be urged for rejecting Marco Polo's story, in spite of the support it receives from the statements of the Arab writers already referred to; but enough has been said to show that the tremendous power exercised by the Grand Master of the Assassins over his followers, or rather over a certain number of his followers, who had been carefully selected after long probation, finds no adequate explanation in the effects of hashish.

Regarding the true nature of the secret of that power which, it is clear, amounted to a veritable obsession of the will of the individual, it is in the highest degree improbable that positive testimony will now ever be obtained. In the meantime science has made it possible to frame a theory on the subject which, at least, possesses the merit of fitting the facts better than that just discussed. Indeed, I may go further and say that, among the known facts, there are none of which it is incapable of affording an adequate explanation. The theory to which I refer is that the means by which the Grand Master was able to make the "devoted" of the Order the absolute slaves of his will was hypnotic suggestion.*

* The antecedents of the founder of the Order may, perhaps, be considered to lend some colour to this supposition. It is a well known fact that the fakirs of India have been acquainted with the processes of hypnotism from the remotest times. Hassan ibn Sabah, who was a dabbler in mysteries from his youth, travelled to the remotest parts of Persia in the pursuit of occult knowledge, and nothing is more probable than that he should have met men of this class in the course of his wanderings, and been initiated into their secrets.

Before asking the reader to accompany me any further, let me anticipate the objection which may possibly be put forward, that this is a barren discussion. To attempt to prove that the dominion of the Assassins actually rested on a basis of hypnotism might, possibly, be a waste of effort. Nevertheless the remarks that follow are not without importance of a very practical character. For if it can be shown that, by recourse to hypnotic suggestion, the chiefs of the Assassins might have accomplished the results actually achieved by them, then it will follow that, the necessary social conditions being granted, an organisation equally atrocious and formidable might be founded to-morrow on the same basis.

That this can be shown—that, indeed, it has already been shown—no one who has followed the researches of MM. Charcot and Richet, or who has studied the Memoir on Hypnotic Suggestion in its relation to Medical Jurisprudence, presented to the Academy of Moral Sciences in Paris in the month of April 1884, and who considers them in the light of the statistics to be presently noticed, can, I think, entertain any doubt.

"During the last few years," says Dr. Beaunis in a pamphlet published in January 1885, "the question of artificially produced somnambulism *(somnambulisme provoqué)*, thanks to the labours of Charcot, Ch. Richet, Dumontpalier, etc., and thanks above all to the enquiries of Liébault, which serve as a point of departure for the labours of Professors Bernheim and Liégeois on hypnotic suggestion, has entered on a new phase. Heretofore, as often as the subject has arisen, it has, after a moment of transient popularity, relapsed into oblivion, owing to the indifference of the public, and especially owing to the disdainful reserve, or the open hostility of the medical world. Will the same be its fate now? I think I can say it will not. The reality of the facts of hypnotism is already admitted by a large number of medical men, and will speedily be demonstrated for all who will examine those facts without prejudice or professional bias."

Among the facts referred to, it will be sufficient, for the purpose of the present article, to notice a few of the more prominent only.

In the first place, then, it is to be noted, the state of somnambulic trance known as the hypnotic condition, is capable of being induced in any susceptible person, without any special appliances, and by means regarding which all that need he said here is, that they are so simple as to be at the command of any one of ordinary intelligence who is furnished with the necessary instructions. The question who are susceptible persons will be considered presently. Among the phenomena of the hypnotic

state, it will be sufficient to draw attention to the following: During that state the person hypnotised is in relation with the hypnotiser, and with no one else, unless the hypnotiser should have placed him in relation with a third person, and this relation subsists not only through the sense of hearing, but through the other senses also. In virtue of it the hypnotiser possesses so perfect a control over the imagination, the senses, and the will of the person hypnotised, that, by mere verbal suggestion, he can not only impose upon him any hallucination of sense, positive or negative, that he—the hypnotiser—pleases, but compel him to perform any act which he—the hypnotiser—chooses, and which he is physically capable of performing, or prevent him from performing acts which he—the hypnotiser—chooses to prevent, whether by prohibiting them or by merely asserting his inability to perform them.

If the hypnotiser tells the subject that there is a pigeon on a table where there is no pigeon, or that there is a picture on a sheet of paper which is blank, the patient sees the pigeon or the picture, as the case may be. If the hypnotiser tells the subject that there is no table, where there is a table, the subject is unable to see the table. If the hypnotiser tells the subject that he cannot rise from the chair on which he is seated, or withdraw his hand from the table on which it is placed, the subject is unable to rise, or withdraw his hand. If the hypnotiser places a pistol in the subject's hand, and, telling him that it is loaded, commands him to discharge it at a particular individual, the subject, believing the pistol to be loaded, executes, to the best of his ability, all the movements necessary for discharging it at the person indicated.

In the facts described so far, there is nothing that has not been long familiar to students of the literature of hypnotism. But the subject has lately acquired a new and startling importance from the discovery that the hypnotiser can prescribe the time at which his suggestions shall be fulfilled by the patient, and that it makes no difference, as regards the ultimate result, whether that time be during the continuance of the hypnotic trance or after its cessation. In either case the suggestions work themselves out at the appointed moment with equal certainty, and with unerring punctuality,

Another remarkable feature about the phenomena is that not only is the person operated upon absolutely unconscious, after being aroused, of everything that may have occurred to him in the hypnotic state, but, up to the time prescribed for the fulfilment of the suggestions made to him during the continuance of that state, he has no foreknowledge or suspicion of what is about to happen. The suggestion remains dormant in his brain until the arrival of the appointed moment or

occasion calls it into activity, and then, though he is powerless to resist it, he regards it, no matter how absurd, or how revolting to his natural feelings it may be, not as something imposed upon him by another, but as an unaccountable, irresistible impulse originating spontaneously in his own mind.

How long a hypnotic suggestion is capable of thus remaining latent without losing its efficacy, has not been determined. But a case, which had been previously communicated to the Psychological Society, is described by Dr. Beaunis in the pamphlet already mentioned, in which such a suggestion was carried into effect after an interval of a hundred and seventy two days.

"On the 14th July, in the afternoon" says the writer, "after having placed Mdle. A. . . E. . . in the hypnotic sleep, I made the following suggestion to her:—'On the 1st January 1885, at ten o'clock in the morning, you will see me; I shall come to wish you a happy new year; and then, after having done so, I shall disappear?'

On the 1st January I was in Paris (Mdle. A. . . E. . . lives at Nancy), having in the meantime made no mention of the suggestion to any one.

Here is what she related to one of her friends on the day in question, and told me afterwards, as well as Dr. Liebault and others: On the 1st January, at 10 o'clock in the morning, she was in her room, when she heard a knock at her door. After saying: 'Come in;' she, to her great surprise saw me enter, and heard me in a loud voice wish her a happy new year. I went away again almost immediately, and, though she went at once to the window to watch me go out, she did not see me. She also observed—not without astonishment, considering the time of year,—that I was dressed in summer clothes (the same, in fact, that I wore on the day on which I made the suggestion.) In vain was her attention drawn to the fact that I was in Paris on that date, and consequently could not have been at her room on the 1st January; she persisted in maintaining that she had seen me, and even to the present day, in spite of my assertions to the contrary, she is convinced that I visited her."

Dr. Beaunis adds, that he has no doubt that suggestions might succeed after the lapse of a much longer time, and believes that they might perhaps succeed after several years.

The power of the hypnotiser is not confined to specific acts, feelings and beliefs, but extends also to the habits of the person hypnotised. Not only might the most prudent man be compelled to make any disposition of his property which the hypnotiser pleased, or the most humane man to plunge a knife into the breast of his dearest friend at a given date and hour, but

the temperate may be made intemperate, the moral immoral, the industrious indolent, or *vice versâ*, during a certain prescribed period.

"A less known and more important fact," says Dr. Beaunis, in the work already quoted, "is that one can bring about, by suggestion, not only temporary, but persistent modifications of character. . . . Dr. Liebault, who, during his long career has had numerous opportunities of experimenting on the subject, would be more competent than I am to treat of this aspect of the question; but I have witnessed a striking example of it: M. D.—was a great smoker and at the same time a great beer drinker—two things which often go together—and that to such a degree, that his health was actually compromised by it and was causing anxiety to his family. M. Liébault hypnotised him, and suggested to him during his sleep that he should give up smoking and drinking beer. He sketched for him, in short, a complete course of hygiene which, being carried out with implicit obedience by the patient, led to an excellent result, which all the entreaties of his family and his own wish had been powerless to bring about. A few hypnotic sittings and the suggestion had been enough. The same effect was obtained by identical means in the case of a physician, in other respects very distinguished, but excessively addicted to spirits.

It would be mere waste of words to dilate at length on the tremendous possibilities implied in the unrestrained exercise of such a power as that which has just been described. That means should exist, within general reach, by which one human being could exact from another absolute obedience to his every command, would be sufficiently serious, even if the subject were conscious of the influence under which he acted. In that case, however, the fear of betrayal might be expected to operate in some degree as a safeguard against abuse of the power. But the power actually possessed by the hypnotiser over his subject is fraught with infinitely greater danger, from the fact that the subject is wholly unconscious of the origin of the impulse under which he acts. Even if his suspicions were aroused by reflection on the strangeness of his conduct, combined with the knowledge that he had been hypnotised, he would obviously be incompetent as a witness to anything but the bare fact of hypnotisation; nor, where the suggestion might have been made to him privately, would it be possible, by direct evidence, to establish against the hypnotiser anything but the responsibility for that fact.

The question whether hypnotic suggestion is likely in practice to be a source of danger to society has been discussed by several writers, among them by Mr. Fred. Myers, who, in an

article published some time since in the *Fortnightly Review*, points to two supposed safeguards against its abuse. One of these, in his view, is that only a small proportion of persons are amenable to the influence of hypnotism, the other is, that for such persons a ready means of protection exists, in the fact that they have only to get some one to hypnotise them and prohibit their obeying the suggestions of anyone else for a certain period, in order to render all such suggestions made during that period ineffectual. As to the first of these supposed safeguards, the assumption on which the belief in its existence rests is wholly opposed to the experience of both Dr. Beaunis and Dr. Liébault.

The former observer states positively that, contrary to the general opinion of many physicians, that somnambulism can seldom be produced artificially except in hysterical subjects, it can be produced with the utmost ease in a very large number of persons who are not subject to hysteria—children, old men, men of every variety of constitution and temperament. So far, indeed, from being specially favourable to the provocation of somnambulism, hysteria and nervousness, he says, often exert a contrary effect, and peasants, soldiers, workmen with athletic constitutions—men little accustomed to let their imagination wander—often fall with the greatest facility into the somnambulic trance, and that sometimes at the first sitting.

He gives a statistical table, prepared for him by Dr. Liébault, in which the subjects experimented on by him during a period of twelve months, are classified according to the effect produced. This table shows that out of 753 persons experimented on, only sixty were found to be wholly insusceptible; in the case of 76, sleepiness only was produced; in the case 143 a light sleep; in the case of 271 deep sleep; in the case of 62 very deep sleep; and in the case of 141 somnambulism.

The more frequently a susceptible subject is hypnotised, the more readily does he succumb to the hypnotic influence, till at last the hypnotiser has merely to command him to fall asleep, or to assure him that he will fall asleep at the end of a certain interval, to accomplish the desired result; and, in such cases, as has been shown at a recent séance at Liverpool, to the satisfaction of a large number of professional men, it may be sufficient that the command be conveyed by letter.

As to the second of the alleged safeguards against the abuse of hypnotism, it may be taken *quantum valeat*. The facts on which the remedy depends are beyond dispute; but the remedy itself is liable to the serious drawback, that a dishonest hypnotiser may employ it in anticipation, to prevent its being used against himself.

Would I then have it understood that there is no balm in Gilead? Far from it. Formidable as I believe to be the uses to which, under certain conditions, hypnotism might be put, society is quite capable of protecting itself against them. For it possesses a remedy far more potent than either of those that have been suggested, more potent even than any action that could be adopted by the legislature for its protection. That remedy is publicity. As long as the processes and phenomena of hypnotism are secrets confined to a few, there can be no guarantee either that none of the few will abuse them, or that some among the many will not unwittingly put themselves in their power. But once let it be generally known that anyone who allows himself to be hypnotised, ceases to be a free agent, while still believing himself to be so, and may be converted into a mere automaton, compelled irresistibly to do the secret bidding of the person who has hypnotised him,—once let this be generally known and appreciated, and no sane person will allow himself to be hypnotised, under any pretext, without adequate guarantee against abuse of the confidence.

The course of recent events, it may be added, has fully justified the prediction of Dr. Beaunis, that hypnotism would command, in the near future, a much larger share of public attention than it had occupied in the past. No competent professional man any longer doubts the reality of the phenomena, or disputes their importance, whether from the point of view of therapeutics or of jurisprudence; through the medium of the Press, the lay public are gradually becoming familiarised with the facts, though it may be questioned whether they at all generally appreciate their significance, and at least one country has, during the last few weeks, recognised the necessity of legislative control over the practice.

J. W.

## ART. IX.—A COLONY OF MURDERERS.

IT was a fresh and balmy evening towards the close of an Indian cool season, and the zephyr breezes, wafted over the ocean on the wings of the North-east monsoon, moaned and whistled through the thick woods which clothe in everlasting green the many picturesque islands that stud the Indo-Chinese seas.

At the door of a humble, but tidy, cottage, constructed entirely of wood and elevated on piles, sat a man and a woman, both Orientals; while several children played about them. The man was silent and preoccupied, and, as he watched the wreaths of tobacco smoke curl upwards from between his dry lips, his thoughts were far away.

His large, determined features and glowing, deep-set eyes; his ample beard, thickly streaked with silver, and folded in rope-like curls; his massive shoulders and long sinewy limbs, marked him as a child of the far North-West, a true descendant of the Mussalman lords who, many centuries ago, had overrun and dominated Northern and Central India under the flag of the Prophet, and who, though forced to give way before the resistless flood of British conquest, retain unabated till to-day the pride, the prejudices and the bigotry of the "True Believers."

The woman was of fairer complexion than the man. Her features were high and clean cut; her lips thin and compressed; her eyes still bright, but devoid of softness; and although her once fine figure was shrunken and emaciated, her bearing indicated toughness and energy.

She chatted on monotonously to her taciturn lord, who deigned no word in reply. He was wrapt in one of those reveries which absorbed him at times, and carried him back to the scenes and the deeds of his early manhood. He knew that he was a murderer, and he was not ashamed: and as his memory fastened on some deed of blood and vengeance, his eye kindled with an evil glint, and his features hardened.

He had slain the "Infidel" with his own right hand, and had buried his knife to the hilt in many a fellow tribesman who had accepted his gold, and traitorously served him. For many years fortune had favoured his misdeeds; he had mixed in the crowd in the border cities unnoticed, and periodically betaken himself to the mountains. But at length he was caught in the act of murder, and dragged in chains before a Court of

Justice. Even here his wits saved his life, for he succeeded in persuading his English Judge that the act was only one of tribal retributive vengeance, and he escaped with a sentence of transportation for life.

Nearly twenty years had since gone by, and he was still a prisoner and a convict, cast on an island in the Southern seas. But all these years of isolation and banishment had not changed his nature or softened his antipathies. Outwardly his conduct was irreproachable. He obeyed the orders of his gaolers unmurmuringly. He toiled, and worked out his daily task: but his heart was unaltered. He remained a murderer still, cold-blooded and remorseless.

The woman who sat by his side, was his wife and the mother of his children; and she was a murderess. More than once had she taken a fellow creature's life, with cool, premeditated intent. She had been, moreover, a faithless wife, a lying lover, and a treacherous friend; yet withal beautiful and alluring as an angel. Her knife she had plunged into a suspected lover's throat, as he slept beside her. Two rivals had been removed by her own hand. But the evil day overtook her also. In a fit of savage jealousy, in order to spite her husband, she had cast their only offspring down a well.

She was observed, and the iron claws of the law gripped her. She, too, was a prisoner and a convict on this same island in the Southern seas.

"The accursed infidels," muttered the woman from between her thin lips; "whence do they obtain their power? The world is theirs and all that is therein. How do they rule this colony of fifteen thousand murderers—this little handful of placid, smoothfaced English? Why don't we rise and cast them into the sea? What has become of our Prophet, that we should thus cringe under the Infidel yoke? Where is your manliness, man? They come up to you with their white, smiling faces—boys with yet no beards upon their chins, and you bend before them with your forehead in the dust. You address them as 'my lord,' and you hurry to do their bidding. Oh! if I were a man" and she clenched her bony hands, until the nails entered the flesh, and gave herself up to a fit of uncontrollable passion.

"Silence, fool!" exclaimed her husband; "here is the officer. Get thee gone." The woman, covering her face with her cloth, vanished into the house, and the man, rising, *salaamed* profoundly to the new comer.

The intruder was a "Settlement officer" who, entirely unarmed and accompanied only by a native attendant, himself a convict, was leisurely going the rounds of his charge. He was little more than a boy in years; but his bearing was that of

a man accustomed to obey and be obeyed. His frank, blue eyes looked the convict full in the face, as he said cheerily in Hindustani:—"Is every thing right, Ismail Khan?" "All is well, Sir," replied the man. The officer then continued peremptorily:—"I shall want you to superintend the gang of workmen who are to make the clearing for the proposed coffee plantation: you understand me; and you will be responsible that the work is well done."

The Mussalman's only response was to signify, by a respectful motion of his head, that he would fulfil his duty, and the officer, whistling to his dog, passed on.

Where, it may be asked, is the scene of the above little episode, and how came it about that a murderer and murderess should be joined together in holy matrimony?

It so happened that, at about three o'clock, P. M., on the 16th February last, I embarked at Rangoon, no board H. M. I. M. S. "*Enterprise*," bound for the Andaman Islands. The Indian Government had lent the ship to Major-General Gordon, C.B., Commanding the Burma Division, for the yearly tour of coast inspection; and I was one of the three Staff officers who accompanied him. The sun, still high in the heavens, flashed down on the sleepless waters of the mighty Irrawaddy—blazing on the masts and funnels of a forest of steamers and ships of all nations, which, at this season of the year, lay off Rangoon in patient expectation of a cargo of rice for their homeward voyage.

Once on board, Captain Shopland lost little time in getting under weigh, and we were soon threading our course though the tangled web of floating vessels—the placid figure heads of the great ocean-going steamers and huge four-masters seeming to look down approvingly at the pert little lady, as she puffed ostentatiously along.

So we shot down merrily on the ebb tide, and by nightfall had reached Elephant Point, which marks the entrance to that one of the many mouths of the Irrawaddy known as the "Rangoon River."

The 'motion' increased as the shore-lights grew dim, and we were soon forging ahead over the dark and rolling ocean.

Captain Shopland had informed us that sixteen or seventeen hours steam ought to bring us to "the Cocos," a group of small islands which would appear to be "connecting files" between the mainland of Burma and the Andamans. But, before we go any further, let us enquire where and what these islands are, so that on our arrival there we shall not be in an altogether unknown land. Let us just acquire sufficient knowledge of the object of our travels to enable us to know what to look for when we arrive.

The Andamans constitute a chain of islands stretching north and south, in the Bay of Bengal, for a length of about two hundred and forty miles, and having an average breadth of ten miles. They lie between the 10th and 14th parallels N. Lat., and near the meridian of 93° E of Greenwich.

The group is composed of three large islands and several small ones. The large islands are known as the North, Middle and Lower Islands. Separated from this group by some twenty miles of rock-studded sea, is another large island, the Little Andaman. The islands above described are identical in character as regards their *flora* and *fauna*, and resemble in these respects the mainland of Burma.

But now we come to a gap. Sailing over thirty or forty miles of sea, of almost unfathomable depth, and without a single speck of land, we alight on the shores of another little group of islands, also British possessions, known as "The Nicobars." Here we find ourselves in a different world. Rolling, grassy slopes, birds, beasts, trees and even man, of types in no way similar to those of the lands above referred to; while, still steering a southerly course, a few strides land us on Dutch territory—on the island of Sumatra.

At the risk of subjecting myself to the incredulous smile of the man of science, who has preconceived ideas on the physical geography of this part of the world, I must give vent to our speculations on board the *Maharani*, where this article was put together, when en-route to Calcutta from Port Blair. The Andamans—as far south as the Little Andaman—were originally a portion of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and formed the delta of the great rivers which take their rise in the Himalayas and empty themselves into the Bay of Bengal. Here this Continent ended. Then came the gulf of unfathomable depth above referred to; then the northernmost point of the great mainland which has since been partitioned out into Java, Sumatra and Borneo, and a host of other lesser islands, which originally formed one vast Continent. The Gulf, according to this theory, was simply a prolongation of the "Straits of Malacca," which the farmers of Buckingham learned so much about on one memorable occasion, from the lips of one of England's greatest statesmen. This Strait was the ocean water-way, by means of which the Indian and China seas mixed their waters, as the tides flowed hither and thither, bearing on their bosoms the white-sailed craft in which primæval man was wont to convey his primitive wares from city to city.

But a truce to theorising. Only one moment more and we shall commence the story of our interesting observations and experiences. You must first know how we came by these

rocky island homes. Had we not enough to control and rule over, in the length and breadth of our vast Eastern Empire, that we should covet these unprofitable rocks the habitations of savages who lived in holes in the earth and fed on herbs?

The fact is, one occupation was the outcome of the other. The responsibilities of Empire necessitated further extension. As far back as 1789, these islands were fixed upon by the servants of the East India Company as a suitable locality for the deportation of certain criminals, whom it was desirable to remove from harm's way. Accordingly, Lieutenant Blair, of the Indian Navy, was despatched thither, with orders to furnish the Government with a full report. He decided on the suitability of the magnificent harbour which has since been named after him, and his views were adopted by the Calcutta Council.

The natives offered little opposition to the party despatched to start the Settlement, and some three hundred convicts were landed the same year. These were added to latter on, and all went well for three years, when some wiseacres discovered that the wrong spot had been fixed upon, and that the southern portion of the Northern island was the real position for the Settlement. The Calcutta magnates listened to the voice of the advocates of the new colony, and orders were given to shift the whole Settlement to what was christened Port Cornwallis. The experiment was a dead failure. The place turned out to be frightfully sickly, and, after considerable numbers had died of fever, the island was altogether abandoned, and the convicts were transferred to Penang on the Malay Peninsula.

For sixty years nothing was heard of the Andamans in the Councils of the Empire, but they were destined, nevertheless, for greater things. The suppression of the Indian Mutiny threw upon our hands a host of villains who, having escaped the bayonets and sabres of our soldiers, were reserved for a prolonged term of banishment from India. The Government had their attention once more turned to the Andamans, and a Commission was appointed to repair thither and report on them. They selected the old harbour, which they now christened Port Blair, after the first explorer who had fixed upon the site. So the British flag was once more hoisted, and a number of criminals, with an adequate guard and staff of management, were despatched thither from Calcutta. Strangely enough, things turned out unhappily, and for the first ten years the colony was very unhealthy. On the second year of their arrival the deaths from fever reached the awful figures of 63 per cent. This appears to have been the culminating point, for successive years saw a steady improvement, and in 1870-73, the colony was about the healthiest spot in the East, the death rate averaging only 15 per cent.

Since then the islands have been remarkably healthy, the average death rate being about 4 per cent. But what an increase has taken place in the number of these criminals during the thirty years referred to! Whereas the first instalment sent to the Andamans after the Mutinies only aggregated two hundred and fifty persons, all told, the number now reaches the enormous figure of *fifteen thousand souls.* With very few exceptions, these are all murderers and murderesses who have escaped the gallows to be deported to this island, there to become useful members of society, to till the soil, load ships, grind corn, be domestic servants, even to manage and superintend their fellow murderers and murderesses, and last, but not least, to marry and be given in marriage.

In order that the reader may have an opportunity of learning how this wonderful change is brought about, I will ask him to accompany us on our little expedition. We will peer into every institution and see how it works; we will visit the queer little aborigines in their own jungles; we will examine the *flora* and *fauna* of the islands, and we will view these thousands of murderers—male and female—under the ever varying circumstances of their existence.

As the Captain had prognosticated, we sighted the island known as the "Little Coco" on the following afternoon.

From a distance it appeared to be clothed in dense bush, while, growing out of its summit, was a handsome lighthouse, painted in alternate stripes of red and white, as a warning to sea-goers to beware of the treacherous coral reefs which run out to sea in every direction.

With this beacon as our guide, then, we forged ahead, through waters barely disturbed by the slightest ripple, and of exquisite transparency. As we 'slowed off' on approaching the land, the bottom was visible at a depth of sixty or seventy feet; fish of great variety, and corals of all shapes and colors, some pure white, some pink, some blue, and all of extreme beauty, being as clearly visible as if in a glass case in an aquarium. With such a depth of water under us, one would think all was safe; but the Captain creeps cautiously along, feeling his way with the lead. The north side gained and a good anchorage fixed upon, down goes the great hook with a plunge and we swing round. Every one resolved to go ashore and pay the solitary lighthouse-man a visit, and we soon found ourselves in boats gliding over the coral reefs. A pathway was visible, leading from the landing place to the summit of the island, on which was the lighthouse. To receive us, stood the solitary keeper, a fine, lusty old sailor with a white beard and snowy locks. He had a great, broad chest and brawny arms, and greeted us respectfully, with uncovered

head, in a strong, cheery voice. What a picture; this solitary Englishman, on this solitary, surf-lashed isle—

> prophet-like that lone one stood
> With dauntless air and high.

He was full of business with Captain Shopland, as the latter is his only visitor, and that at intervals of two or three months; and he led the way up the precipitous cliff to the lighthouse. We thoroughly 'did' the lighthouse. We climbed the spiral iron ladder at the expense of the muscles of our legs, and found ourselves in the wondrous chamber of massive glass prisms with the great lamp in the centre, which, when ignited, shoots its rays over the ocean for so many leagues; and then we descended to mother earth once more. There was a little enclosure not far off and some crosses, which attracted my attention. Two were close together. One was sacred to the memory of . . . . the wife of . . . . Lighthouse-keeper, who was drowned in trying to land on this Island on . . . . ; the other was to mark the resting place of her husband, who was murdered by one of his native assistants in the following year.

The coral shore reached, we clambered over the rocks, and, entering the boats, rowed off to our snug little yacht. At daybreak we found ourselves only a three hours run from Port Blair. As the General did not wish to land till the evening, we resolved on a morning's 'pottering about.' There was plenty to be seen. We anchored in the beautiful blue water, amidst quite a cluster of densely-wooded islands. Numerous fish came to have a look at us, and amongst them two sharks, on whose destruction we were bent. A bait was prepared in the shape of a whole fowl, which was sacrificed for the express purpose. This was bound securely to a rusty hook the size of a small anchor, and the whole attached to a good-sized rope, scarcely what fishermen would call "fine tackle." Down it plunged into the water, and *nolens volens* following the lead, went meandering about to a depth of twenty or thirty feet. The sharks came and examined it, swimming round and round, but, as the fowl was manifesty inseparable from the great rusty hook, and as this combination was connected with the ship, they decided, after some deliberation, to resist temptation, and we could not induce them to change their minds. We next steamed off to a rocky island, honeycombed with hugh caves and called "Birds' nests' Island." It is the habitation of countless small swallows, which build their nests in the caves. Captain Shopland had been to the place seventeen years before, and gave it as his opinion that it ought to be visited. We cast anchor and pulled over. We entered a large cave, within which the sea moaned and roared,

and, climbing on to the slippery rocks, groped our way along in search of nests. On the rocks countless crabs of enormous size dodged about. The uncanny beasts hustled and bustled hither and thither, backing into holes, and almost immediately emerging, to have a keen, suspicious look at us. We all agreed that Mr. Rider Haggard must have been here at some past period of his life, to have written his cave scene in "Alan Quartermain." Had I been alone, I should have left the cave empty handed, and declared ever afterwards that the birds' nests were a myth ; but our skipper had a practised eye, and was soon hard at work, tearing them off the rocks and filling a basket. The nests consisted of little half-moon-shaped webs of stuff resembling isinglass which adhered to the rocks, and were very tough and strong, despite their fragile appearance. They are composed of the saliva secreted by the birds, and emitted from its bill, and contain considerable nutriment as human food.

Having tried in vain to detach some enormous branches of blue coral from the sea bottom, and broken the rudder off the boat, we got clear of the caves and the crabs, and rowed off to what in the distance appeared to be a sandy beach. It was nothing but white coral. The reflection of the midday sun off this glaring, bleached coast baffles description, and there was a case something very like sunstroke among us. On returning to the steamer once more, we were glad to weigh anchor and get some air in motion. Threading our way through a host of thickly-wooded islands, we at length entered the lovely harbour which was to be our destination. We were to land at Ross Island, which is not far from the entrance. The little island seemed positively to be a forest of houses, in which respect it presented quite a contrast to the larger islands, on which only a few habitations were dotted about.

But now the anchor has plunged into the water, and several boats and a steam launch are putting off from the jetty. A very smartly dressed crew of fine big Punjabis and Pathans bring a boat alongside, and an officer, seated at the helm, informs us that it is for our accommodation. I enquired mildly, in an under tone, whether the crew were all murderers, and have to confess to a feeling of disappointment on being informed that they were policemen, "but," the officer added, "they are the only non-convict crew in the Settlement." They bent their backs like a Varsity eight, and in a twinkling we were alongside the jetty. We were received by the Chief Commissioner, Colonel Cadell, V. C., a mutiny hero, and Colonel Swanston, commanding the little garrison, and, in company with these and several officers, civil and military, we strolled along the pier. Our luggage was seized by gangs of men

of various castes and creeds, some of whom worked in chains, but all of whom seemed anxious to carry something for the newly-arrived *sahibs*. They bore cheerful countenances, and looked well fed and cared for, and all were murderers. There were many more convicts about, all at work. Some were cutting wood, some carpentering in store houses and sheds, while others fished with nets from the pier.

As we got clear of these sheds and enclosures, crammed with labouring criminals, a change of scene suddenly burst upon us. What! more murderers? nothing of the sort. A beautiful bright green lawn-tennis ground was before us. It was in perfect order and several nets were up, the players being ladies, and the gentlemen all got up in the latest tennis costume.

They looked so cool and fresh, that, had we been able to retrieve our kit from the hands of the murderers, I do believe we one and all should have 'cut in' for a 'set.' Some of my readers may be inclined to ask the question: Who on earth could the men be who could have time to play lawn-tennis in such a place as this, and what woman in her senses would trust herself in such a den of criminals? My answer is that the men are the civil and military officers of the Settlement, who rule with a silk thread these fifteen thousand convicts, and the officers of the detachments of the Cheshire Regiment and the 7th Madras Infantry, which make up the little garrison —and the ladies are their wives, sisters and so forth. It is the same all over the earth. Wherever Englishmen can go—and where can they not?—English women will follow. All honor to them for the sacrifice.

We were all provided with quarters and most hospitably looked after. My only complaint was that I had too much room in an ample bungalow, all to myself, and numerous attendants, respectably dressed, well-mannered Hindustanis—and all murderers. The whole thing was novel and delightful; but my fat Madrassee 'Boy' did not think so, for he remarked to me under his breath, as he clutched my bunch of keys in his fat hands and looked about him nervously: "These plenty bad people, Sar."

There are only about sixteen hundred convicts on Ross, the rest being scattered over the other islands in about thirty different Settlements.

The following day was Sunday, and even the murderers seemed better dressed, and to have assumed their 'go-to-meeting' manners. Many had, on closer inspection, villainous faces, and would, doubtless, be ready at any time to commit crime, if it were not for the unpleasant consequences, to wit, the certainty of being caught, chains, imprisonment and possibly death. As regards control—the rule of the Settlement is, for

the first two months, labour in chains. Then, if the convict behaves himself, the chains come off. From this point the criminals may rise to almost anything, including the gallows.

I attended service in Mr. Chard's pretty little church. There were the soldiers of the Cheshire Regiment and a few civilians, but, as no convicts were present, I presume there are none on the island professing the Protestant faith.

The Cheshire lads surpassed themselves as choir singers, and displayed no small lung power. In the evening I crossed the harbour with a friend, and took a walk on the great island, which is always spoken of as "the mainland." Here live almost all the Settlement officers, except the Commissioner himself. Most of the sites of the houses are lovely, commanding delightful views of mountain, wood and water. There are no troops on this island, the guard duties being carried on entirely by Punjabi police—fine stalwart fellows. As we strolled about through woods, and over green slopes, we occasionally passed through peaceful little villages of men, women and children. Now, who are these people. Murderers? Never. Yes, they are—all murderers, male and female. I learnt that they were the "self-supporters." They are men and women who have conducted themselves discreetly for a term of years, and who have been, to all intents and purposes, set free. Of this class were the interesting couple introduced to the reader in the opening sentences of this essay. The men are given a plot of land, which is cleared of bush and hindrances, and they are thus encouraged to till it and become peasant proprietors *pro tem.* But this is not all. The fortunate recipient of these favors is allowed the luxury of a murderess for a wife, should he express a desire for conjugal bliss. There are always a certain numbers of ladies in the women's Settlement who are considered free to wed, and these are paraded for his selection, and, if he be willing, their hands are joined.

I don't think many questions are asked as to the responsibilities either may have incurred in days gone by, but I may be wrong on this point. Some of these families would prefer to stay for life on their little farms; but this is not encouraged, and they are cleared out on the expiration of their term of imprisonment. Their room is preferred to their company.

The "self-supporters" soon seem to forget that they are prisoners, and are given to litigation, constantly worrying about little matters connected with their land and labor, and, if worsted, making appeals.

There are about four thousand of them in the Settlement, and they are employed in all sorts of labour. They

cultivate corn and vegetables, sugarcane, indigo, cotton, tobacco, tea and coffee, and develop the experiments which Government have lately set on foot to try and make the Settlement pay.

Military inspection work occupied us till the middle of the following day; but in the evening we were invited to a picnic by Captain Lindsell, 15th Bengal Cavalry, and head of the police. It was to take place on the summit of Mount Harriet, the highest peak on the islands, from which a magnificent view is obtainable. On arrival at the landing place we found chairs and ponies awaiting us. The General and the Commissioner signified their intention of walking, and most of the party, including one lady, inspired by their heroic example, started well. But, as we proceeded, the ascent got more and more precipitous, and some began to waver. We had a twelve hundred feet pull before us, and, after the first two hundred, most people, beginning with the youngest, got on board of something in the shape of a locomotive. But the two seniors in age and responsibilities held on bravely until the summit was reached. Here we found refreshments of all sorts—tea, cake and such indiscretions as whiskies and soda and 'cup.' Having inhaled the ozone-laden breeze, reduced in temperature by at least ten degrees, and seen earth, sky and sea set all aflame with the glory of the setting sun, we prepared for the descent. This was to be a torch-light procession. As we swarmed down the stony pathway, before, and behind, and around us murderers held torches aloft. Some carried blue lights and rockets, which they squibbed off. I saw a Burman who held a rocket which was decidedly getting the better of him, throw it down and try to extinguish it with his naked foot. The result can be imagined.

The bottom reached, we walked along the jetty to the boats. "This is the spot," said an officer to me, "where poor Lord Mayo was murdered. There was a torch-light procession just like this, and he had been up to the top of the hill. The murderer some how or other managed to join the procession unobserved, and, seeing his opportunity, dashed forward and plunged his knife into the Viceroy's lungs. When struck, he jumped off the pier into the mud, and, immediately recovering himself, said he was not much hurt. But the wound was mortal."

It appears that some hours before the tragedy, the assassin, who was an Afridi fanatic, had been up to the hill top and consulted with an ascetic or fakeer, and received from him a passport to *behisht* if he would slay the great *Feringee*. But the case was not proven, and this 'old man of the sea' remains till to-day, to practise his wiles on the summit of Mount Harriet.

A well-trained crew of stalwart murderers piloted us across the harbour, where the grateful tub, and iced drinks awaited us.

Another morning's work: the Cheshire lads had this time to pass before the General's eye. They looked remarkably fit, and Captain Marshall had good reason to be proud of his detachment. Their barrack is a sort of miniature Stirling Castle.

Castellated and turretted, it sits perched on a commanding rock. Here dwells Tommy from Cheshire. Like the Laureate's "eagle,"

Ringed by the azure world he stands,
The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls.

In the afternoon we were to visit the aborigines in their own jungle retreats.

As to who these people are, and how they came to be on these islands, authorities have at all times been, and still are, at variance. Some say they are the descendants of a crew of shipwrecked Africans, who have deteriorated through the process of ages. Others assert that they are Negritos of the same family as the Samangas of Sumatra; and Mr. E. G. Man, the latest writer on the subject, holds that they are a race in themselves, who have existed on these islands from prehistoric times.

Professor Owen has carefully studied the skulls of Andamanese and seems to incline towards Mr. Mason's opinion, that they are unlike any other people on the surface of the Globe.

Writers and travellers have been none the less at variance as to the moral side of their nature. According to some they are cannibals and monsters of great ferocity, while others can say nothing too good of them. Now let us examine them for ourselves, and we shall be able to draw our own conclusions.

After a four or five hours spin in a steam launch, we reached the appointed spot, which adjoined the little bushmen's den, and a few minutes walk took us to their village—if one big shed and two or three small ones can be so designated. Into the larger one we peeped, to see quite a crowd of little pigmy people, male and female, squatting round in a ring.

On seeing us, some of them rose leisurely and stretched themselves, while others remained sprawling about on the ground.

A native of India, who had accompanied us, then said something to them which was evidently to the effect that they were to turn out and show themselves to the *sahibs*; and they one and all flocked out. The men and boys were perfectly naked; the fair sex were adorned with no more cumbrous costume than that adopted by our first mother. After a careful survey I satisfied myself that they were negros of some type or other. The men had woolly tufts of hair on their little bullet heads, thick lips and flat noses, protuberant stomachs and buttocks. They were black as ebony, in fact, like "a polished stove," and they strutted in their walk, like all the African tribes I had seen.

They were very small, averaging about four feet six inches. The women were remarkable for their ill favor, and somewhat shorter than the males. I should say they were the heavier. Their thighs and buttocks were most enormous, so much so as to make them quite rivals of their swarthy sisters, the Hottentots. Their heads were clean shaven, and in many cases their faces and bodies were smeared over with red, white and chocolate clay.

Both men and women wore ornaments round their necks, which, on closer inspection, turned out to be human bones ; and, on asking what the round thing was which one woman wore on her shoulder, I was informed that it was a human skull. The women who are widows, often carry about, as trophies, their deceased husbands' skulls.

The *tumasha* which now took place, was, I presume, similar to that performed in the presence of all distinguished visitors.

The women squatted round and played on cymbals, and the men performed a dance—gyrating about and flourishing their bows with no small activity. This went on for some considerable time, until both dancers and players, and—I can answer for one—beholders were well nigh exhausted. Having heard of their skill as marksmen with bows and arrows—their favorite sport being shooting fish in the water—,we expressed a wish to see them shoot. The order was given to the aforesaid native of India to produce arrows, and, on his bringing out a huge bundle of about a hundred, he was regularly "rushed" by the excited crowd of men and boys, who began to help themselves to four, five and six each. I should say the fittest got the fittest weapons, as some of the smaller ones regarded their arrows with undisguised disapproval. Each arrow was six feet long—as long as the bow—and had an iron head. So excited were they, that it appeared quite on the cards that an arrow might possibly find its way into the wrong target. I know one whizzed unpleasantly near my nose ; and, following its flight, I saw it stick in the eye of a lay figure, propped up against a tree, which we had none of us noticed hitherto. This was the signal for wild yells of approval and showers of arrows—all directed at the same inert victim. Almost every arrow hit the mark, and in a few seconds it was all bristling with them. The velocity appeared to be tremendous—the arrow heads disappearing altogether in the tough wood of the trees. A general rush was next made to pull them out, but this was a difficult matter, and some of the shafts were broken in the attempt.

The distance at which the practice took place was about thirty yards. When, later on, they went back to fifty, the practice was comparatively indifferent.

Whatever may be the history or origin of the Andamanese, they know nothing of it themselves. They have no written

language, no history, no traditions, and no religion or philosophy. Furthermore, they are fast dying out. A dire disease has of late years made its appearance amongst them, and their days are numbered. In some parts of the Andaman group, they are still troublesome, especially if you land without an escort; but, owing to the wondrous forbearance and kindness shown them of late years, they at present regard us somewhat as a fox-terrier regards the huge household mastiff. An event occurred some years ago which undoubtedly astonished the Andamanese. Some British sailors had landed at a spot where there was a little settlement of natives. A lusty Jack, having entered the village unobserved, tried to take liberties with an Andamanese girl. Her little black sweetheart, hearing her cries, came to the rescue, and sent an arrow through the sailor's heart. The alarm spread and the whole village fled into the bush. But they were pursued, and the culprit, having surrendered himself, was taken off by the police. Of course his friends never expected to see him again; but what was their astonishment when, two days later, he appeared amongst them with a radiant face. He had been acquitted and set free. And this was English justice! The news of this extraordinary clemency spread all over the islands; some would think with a bad effect, but it appears not. "Jumbo," as the man has since been christened, is still alive, and the best known man of his race. He has ever since been most popular with the village maidens.

Some of the Settlement officers convert these queer little folk into domestic servants: but the attempt is little more than a joke.

I breakfasted with Mr. Godwin Austen, one morning, when four of the little imps, got up in blue and white suits, waited at table. The two smaller, their master and mistress have christened "Day and Martin." Every now and then they disappear, without leave, revisit their friends, and disencumber themselves of garments, &c. But they generally return, with the proverbial negro grin, and make no apologies.

The following day, we took a long ride through the heart of the forest. A launch conveyed us to a certain point, seven or eight miles from the harbour, and here we found stout Pegu ponies awaiting us. Our path lay through a primæval forest, in which are some of the largest trees in the world, and quite the largest any of us had seen. The *Semul* grows to the greatest height, and some of these trees which we examined, were quite two hundred feet before the first branch was reached, and to the topmost twig little less than another hundred. An officer informed us that he had fired three shots from a breech-loading shot-gun at a pigeon,

perched on the topmost branch of the highest tree he could find. The bird never moved. Neither the pellets nor the report reached him.

The huge butresses which nature has provided to prop up these colossal wooden structures, are strangely instructive.

The roots are not deep, but the tree stands upon a base formed by great protuberances, radiating like the blades of a screw. They are little more than a foot thick anywhere, and taper outwards, but they protrude for a length of about twenty feet in the case of the larger trees. Most of these forest trees are smothered in creepers and parasites, all kinds of orchids being common. Our attention was drawn to one or two most marvellous developments of the creeper-growth. The vast octopus had so clutched the tree in its arms and sucked its blood that the parent trunk was dead, and portions only of its carcase still remained clasped in the embrace of its devourer.

In the heart of this dark forest we suddenly emerged into an open space. The great trees had been felled, and the undergrowth was in process of removal. The woods resounded with the crack of the axe, and the screech of the saw, and the clatter of men's tongues. Here we found some three hundred convicts at work, making a "clearing." They were all armed with hatchets, saws and bill-hooks, a stroke from any one of which would finish your career, yet no guard was thought necessary. A single "Settlement officer," a fair-haired young fellow, directed the work, while, to assist him, a few ticket-of-leave men strolled about, provided with ordinary walking sticks.

Arrived on the sea shore once more, we drifted along the rocky ledges until we came in slight of a picturesquely situated little Settlement with an easterly aspect.

"This," said our guide, "is the women's Settlement." No male foot is supposed to desecrate this abode of fair murderesses. Here they are obliged to live in the seclusion of their own society, which is, perhaps, the greatest hardship they have to endure. We had a look over the place. There were women of all ages, races, castes and creeds. Like the men, they were organised in "sections," and the wards seemed clean and well kept.

Many were at work, grinding flour, spinning and sewing. Some were more smartly dressed than others, and appeared to be of a superior class. These wore red frocks and were described to us as "petty officers." They are held responsible for the good behaviour of their sisters. Some few were young and handsome; but beauty, on the whole, was at a discount. One lady was asked what crime she had committed. Her reply was somewhat laconic. "A certain woman," she said, "fell down a well;" and she smiled sweetly and passed on.

Most of these women were in for the murder of rivals, lovers, husband or their own children. I suggested spending an afternoon in this Arcadia, in order to collect material for a thrilling Asiatic story of love and revenge; but the idea was discouraged as being not proper, and tending to establish an undesirable precedent.

The afternoon of our last day at the Andamans was devoted to a visit to Viper Island, where all the worst criminals are kept, and whereon is the only prison in the entire Settlement.

We were met at the pier by Mr. Tuson, who has for years presided over this anything but desirable charge. It seemed to agree with him for he was a remarkably fresh and cheerful man, and bore no outward marks of worry and anxiety. From the moment of our landing, our steps were dogged by tall Punjaubi policemen, who stuck to us like leeches all along. Previously to entering the prison, we explored a variety of sheds, in which were convicts at all sorts of work, and the ticket-of-leave men strolled about among them, armed only with sticks. We next ascended some stone steps and reached the gate of the prison, a massive stone building, with mighty portals. As we entered, the attentions of the myrmidons of the law became still more marked, and we were rather too well guarded.

There is little "beer and skittles" going within the four walls of the Viper Prison. Here is nothing but grinding toil and chains. We first entered a large enclosure, where some hundreds of criminals were at work, grinding corn in stone machines Each man was chained to his task, and worked the stone round incessantly. They looked for the most part miserable and desperate. All were given the same task, *viz.*, to grind forty pounds during the hours of day-light; this done they were free to rest. Some, we were informed, completed their task in six hours; some did it in eight or ten, and some, who were either weak or lazy, dragged it out for twelve or fourteen hours. This, then, is the first task allotted to the criminal when he enters Viper Prison. We were now conducted to another portion of the building, and entered a succession of solitary cells, in each of which a wretch toiled away at his grindstone. This is his punishment if he refuses to work in the crowd. But there was yet another persuader to reduce the obstinate, or mutinous prisoner to reason, and we were shown the only example on the island. We entered a cell where a young Mahratta stood up and regarded us doggedly. His hands were chained to the wall at a height of about a foot above his head. "In this position," said the warder, "he has remained for eight hours daily for the past two months." He preferred this to work, and had shown no inclination to change his mind.

"And now," said our good natured guide, "you have tracked the criminal through the various steps of his career. You have seen him before he was despatched to Viper. You have seen him working at his trade there under restricted conditions, but yet comparatively free. You have followed him into prison, where, with a crowd of other criminals, he works chained to his task. You have seen him toiling in his solitary cell, and standing upright chained to the wall. I will now show you the stage on which, he who persists in his evil courses, stands for the last time in Viper Prison."

We followed him along a dark passage, and entered a low rectangular room. A massive beam ran along its entire length entering the wall at each end, at a height of about six feet from what, on closer inspection, appeared to be a trap-door. "This," he continued, "is the gallows."

The place spoke for itself; it was the chamber of death.

We had 'done' Viper, and, having taken refreshments at the Superintendent's quarters, we departed.

You will be inclined to enquire, not improbably, whether attempts at escape are frequent in the Settlement and with what success.

Well, on our way across the harbour, on this occasion, we heard two excellent stories to illustrate a reply to such an enquiry. Some little time ago a boat's crew played a nice trick on one of the Settlement Officers. They had done their work capitally for years, and were thoroughly trusted by him. He had given orders that the boat should be provisioned for three days, over night, as he was going on a tour of inspection, and to be ready to start at daybreak on a certain day. He repaired to the boat-house at the appointed time, but no boat could he find. What he did find, was the police sentry, lying senseless on his back, close to the landing place.

When the man came to—for he was only stunned—the story leaked out. He had been helping the crew to get things ready at about midnight, when he was knocked senseless by a blow from an oar, and he remembered nothing afterwards.

Strange to say, this lot got clean away and were never heard of again. As it was during the south-west monsoon, it is supposed that they reached Burma, or the Malay Peninsula, in safety.

Another remarkable case of successful escape occurred at the Nicobars some few years ago. There was only one officer there, and he was much over worked. His right hand man was a very sharp and active ticket-of-leave man, who hailed from the North.

On an occasion this man reported to him that all the boats but one were in want of repairs, and begged him to inspect them. There was no doubt of it; all but his own private boat

leaked badly. So he directed that they should be dry-docked, and ordered his *factotum* to superintend their repair. The latter soon had them to pieces, and, getting hold of the Superintendent's boat, one fine night, he set sail with a choice crew and steered for the island of Sumatra.

More than a week passed before anything could be done, when the Chief Commissioner himself went in pursuit in his own steamer. Arrived on the coast of Acheen, he obtained news of the fugitives. The boat was found, with a letter, written in Hindustani It was addressed, in English: "To His Excellency the Governor of the Andaman Islands," and was written and signed by our hero. He wished the Commissioner good-bye, and said he and his partly had betaken themselves to the hills, where he was already a chief among the tribes in their war with the Dutch.

Petty crimes are common amongst the convicts, which necessitates a constant watch being exercised over their actions. Murder is not infrequent; the average number for the last two or three years being about eight in the whole settlement.

On the whole, the convicts are wonderfully well fed and cared for, and are kept incessantly at work—not useless work, such as carrying shot hither and thither, but useful work, the results of which they can see with their own eyes.

This brings my narrative of our visit to the Andamans to a close, and I think we all agreed that we had spent a most interesting and profitable week. The whole place is an illustration of British energy, and that genius for government under difficult circumstances in which we are without rivals in the world.

In such an atmosphere as that above described, and with such people to deal with, the life of a political officer is ever anxious and eventful, and his work without end. That this work is done thoroughly, and with surpassing success, must be evident to all who visit these islands. With what energy, courage and resolution do this little handful of Englishmen, isolated from the outer would, and thrown on their own resources, control and govern these fifteen thousand Asiatic murderers! With what patience, tact and devotion do they curb their fiery passions, with little more than a show of prison bars and prison chains—one principle guiding all their efforts, that each one shall fulfil his daily task. From this there is no escape, and murderers and murderesses alike are soon brought face to face with the inexorable dictum which controls their lives on the Andamans, that by unremitting labour and good behaviour alone can they hope to have their bonds unloosed and be permitted to work out the term of their imprisonment in comparative freedom and peace.

E. C. BROWNE.

## ART. X.—THE PURSUIT OF NATURAL HISTORY AMONG THE NATIVES OF INDIA.

NATURAL History* pursuits, as intellectual recreations, have never been popular amongst the people of India, whether of past or of modern times. If we search the ancient literature of India, whether of the Hindus or of the Mahomedans, we come across abundant evidence to show that the ancient Indians never attained to any degree of proficiency in either zoology or botany. That the people of ancient India did not take any interest in the varied fauna and the rich flora of this country, or study, or prosecute researches into them, is shown by the extreme paucity of the works in their literature treating of the animals or the vegetable productions peculiar to the country. There are, no doubt, one or two works treating of the animal kingdom in the Sanscrit language ; but, strictly speaking, they belong rather to the domain of veterinary science than to that of zoology proper, for they deal more with the proper treatment, training and nurture of the elephant and the horse, than with their classification, their nomenclature, or their habits and habitats. These works, which are so few in number that they can be counted on the fingers of one hand, still exist only in the form of MSS., and there is considerable doubt as to their having been written in ancient times. Accepting them as of ancient origin, they may be said to constitute the sole zoological literature of the ancient Hindus.

So far as the general literature of the Hindus is concerned, there are references, no doubt, to the mammals and the birds known to the ancient Indians in their principal prose works and poems, but they are few in number. All the zoological descriptions of the ancient Indians are of fabulous creatures, of animals of gigantic dimensions and prodigious strength, of which no living representatives exist at the present day. The *Ainavata* elephant, described by them, might have been the prototype of the *Elephas ganesa* whose fossil remains were discovered by Drs. Falconer and Cautley in the Sivalik Hills, and have been described by them in their great work on the "*Fauna Sivalikensis*"; and the gigantic tortoise, which is stated by the Hindu geographers to bear, Atlas-like, on its back, the whole

* The term 'Natural History' is used throughout this essay in its popular acceptation, as inclusive of the three sister natural sciences—Zoology, Botany and Geology.

world, might have been the progenitor of the *Testudo Colossochelys*, whose remains were also discovered in the same region by those accomplished palæontologists, and have been described by them in the work just mentioned. The thousand-hooded *Vasuki* serpent, described in ancient Sanscrit literature, has its living prototypes in the Pythons (*Python Molurus*) and in the Hamadryads (*Ophiophagus Hamadryas*); and the *Garuda* must have had representatives, within the memory of living men, in the wilds of New Zealand, in the bird known as *Dinornis*, whose remains have been discovered and described by Professor Owen. Last year, a writer in the "*Indian Evangelical Review*" attempted to identify the *Garuda* of the ancient Indians with an eagle (*Aquila sp.*) found in the Deccan.

These are the fabulous creatures to which frequent allusions are made in the ancient literature of the Hindus. On the other hand, Sanscrit poets like Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha, Bhavabhuti and others, make frequent allusions to some mammals and birds which can very certainly be identified with living species of animals. The *Krishnasara* of these poets must either be the *Antilope Cervicapua* or the *Gazella Bennettii* of modern zoologists, and the *mriga* or *rishya* described by them must be identical with the spotted deer (*Cervus axis*), or the many-antlered *Cervus Duvancelli* which frequents forest tracts and swampy regions. The ornithology of the Sanscrit poets includes the following birds: *Suka*, parrot (*Palaeornis cynocephalus*); *bakula*, heron (*Ardeola leucoptera* or *Herodias Alba*); *marála*, swan (*Cygnus olor*); *Chakravaka* (*Caccabis chukor*); *kokila*, cuckoo (*Cuculus Indica*); *rajhansa*, goose (*Tadorna rutila*). The fishes described by the Sanscrit writers are mostly identical with species living at the present day, though the *nakua* described by them may either have been the Leviathan mentioned in the Bible, or the whale of modern naturalists. The entomological researches of the ancient Indians were confined to the bee, which insect has been described *ad nauseam* in their works. The Persian and the Urdu literatures, which are, in the main, the literatures of the Indian Mahomedans, contain, so far as my knowledge goes, no works dealing either with zoology or with botany. The stock-subject of Persian ornithological descriptions is the *bulbul*, which is as great a favorite with the Persian poets as the nightingale is with the English bards. Professor V. Ball has told us in his "*Jungle Life in India*," how he came across a book in Lucknow, which purported to be an Urdu work on zoology, but which, on perusal, turned out to be a natural history of fabulous animals.

The botanical knowledge of the ancient Indians was far more

considerable than their knowledge of zoology, and among their literature we find some works which treat of botanical subjects. Strictly speaking, however, these partake more of the nature of works on medical botany than on botany in general, for they treat of the diagnoses of plants required for medicinal purposes in the *Ayurveda* of the Hindus.

The ancient Indian writers on the *Ayurveda*, namely Charaka, Susruta and others, have given lists of medicinal plants, together with their diagnoses, and these may be said to constitute the only botanical literature of the Indians In one respect, these works resemble the works of the older European herbalists, such as Ray, Gesner, Tournefort, &c. Sir William Jones contributed to the "*Asiatic Researches*" an article on the plants known to the ancient Indians, and the late lamented Dr. Udoy Chand Dutt also wrote a work on the same subject. The favorite plants of the Sanscrit poets are the *padma*, lotos *(Nelumbium Speciosum,)* the *kadamba (Nauclea kadamba,)* the *bakula (Mimusops Elengi,)* the *kadali*, plantain *(Musa sp.,)* the *devadruma* which seems to be identical with the *cheer* pine of the Himalayas *(Pinus Longifolia)*, and others. On the other hand, the favorite plant of the Persian poets is the *gul*, or the rose, "the glory of April and May," just as the daisy, "the wee crimson-tipped flower," is the favorite flower of the British poets.

The science of geology dates only from the year 1790, in which Werner propounded to his pupils at Freiburg, his doctrine of 'formations' of the earth. It was, in the same year that William Smith, an English surveyor, published a 'Tabular View of the British Strata,' containing an account of the secondary formations of England, together with their peculiar organic remains. Being a new science, which owes its origin entirely to European savants, this third branch of natural history was unknown to the ancient Indians.

Thus, from an analysis of the foregoing, it will be evident that—(1) Zoology and botany proper were unknown to the ancient Indians; (2) veterinary zoology and medical botany were, to a certain extent, known to them; (3) their knowledge of medical botany was greater than their knowledge of zoology.

So much for the knowledge of Natural History possessed by the ancient Indians. I will now show that the natives of India at the present day, like their forefathers, show a marked want of proficiency in their knowledge of zoology, botany and geology, and I will attempt to trace out the causes from which this deficiency in Natural Sciences proceeds—a deficiency the more to be regretted, that the natives of India have distinguished themselves in every branch of literature and science except Natural

History. There are Indians who have distinguished themselves in law, medicine, and engineering. There are Indians who have betaken themselves to the study of the physical and the chemical sciences, though they have not distinguished themselves by any brilliant discoveries or original researches therein. There are Indians who are distinguishing themselves by their original researches in mathematics. But it is to be deeply regretted that there is not a single native of India who has achieved any distinction by any original researches into, or discovery in, Natural History, or, at least, who has devoted himself to the study of zoology and botany.

There are, at least, two Bengalis in the Geological Survey of India, who have devoted themselves to the study of geology and mineralogy, and they seem to have achieved some sort of distinction by these studies, for they have been elected Fellows of the Geological Society of London and have contributed papers to the "*Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.*" There is one Bengali gentleman, connected with the Economic and the Art Departments of the Indian Museum in Calcutta, who takes great interest in economic botany, and has been elected a Fellow of the Linnæan Society of London. The late lamented Raja Rajendra Mullick was an ardent lover of animals, and had been a elected a C. M. Z. S (corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London), in recognition of his bountiful contributions of Indian mammals and birds to the Zoological Gardens, in Regent's Park. But no native of India has, as yet, studied scientifically the varied fauna and the rich flora of India. Foreigners alone have done so, and the credit of naming, classifying and describing the animals and plants peculiar to the Indian fauna and flora respectively, belongs to European naturalists. It is by European naturalists only that new species of both vertebrates and invertebrates are being discovered every year, and added to the recorded fauna of India; and the researches of European botanists into the Vegetable Kingdom in India have been the means of discovering many plants altogether new to science. All the more credit is due to them for this, owing to the disadvantages under which they labour in the pursuit of these studies. The first of these disadvantages is that, being strangers in a strange land, they are imperfectly acquainted with the country, and with the peculiar haunts of different animals, and the localities where particular species of plants abound. The second disadvantage under which European naturalists and botanists labour, is the climate of this country, which is very trying to their constitutions. Many European naturalists have had their health permanently shattered by prosecuting natural history researches in unhealthy regions. The third disadvantage is that Europeans

have not the same facilities for observing the habits and habitats of animals and becoming acquainted with the habitats and the properties of plants as the children of the soil.

We are filled with feelings of admiration when we read of the enthusiasm and the love of science which prompt European naturalists to brave the dangers of unexplored countries, simply for the purpose of studying their zoology, botany and geology. Look at a Stòlickza making zoological collections in the wilds of Yarknd and in the Deserts of Kutch; or a Hume collecting birds in the dense, unhealthy forests of the Nicobar and the Andamans; or an Anderson exploring the trackless jungles of Yunan, in Upper Burmah, for natural history specimens. Our feelings border on mute astonishment when we find a Sulpiz Kurz exploring the forests of Burmah for its forest flora, or a Haeckel coming from Germany to India for the purpose of studying its fauna and flora.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned disadvantages, the zoology of India has been scientifically studied and drawn up, and it is to the genius and the labours of such well-known Indian Zoologists as Hodgson, Blyth, Cantor, Mc'Lelland, Jerdon, Anderson, W. T. Blanford and others, that we are indebted for all this. Since the publication of Jerdon's "*Mammals and Birds of India*," and Günther's "*Reptiles*," nearly half a century ago, many species of vertebrates, altogether new to science, have been added to the recorded fauna of this country through the labours of the naturalists above-mentioned, and it is in order to include these discoveries in the body of the Zoological literature of India, that the splendid series of works on "*The Fauna of India*" are being issued under the editorship of Dr. W. T. Blanford and the auspices of the Secretary of State for India. In the same manner, Hooker's "*Flora of British India*" includes all the discoveries in the botany of India which have been made since the publication of Roxburgh's "*Flora Indica*;" and King, Clarke, Hooker and others are doing for Indian botany what Blanford, Anderson and others are doing for Indian zoology at the present day. But still, in spite of these discoveries, there are many divisions of the fauna and the flora of this country which have yet to be explored and worked out, and I do not know that there is a more intellectual and interesting recreation than that offered by these studies for my countrymen to devote themselves to.

There is far greater glory in achieving conquests over Nature, and inducing her to give up her secrets, than in wasting the national energies in empty political agitation. There is ample field in this direction for the exercise of their intellect; and should my countrymen take to these studies, I am sure their

researches will at no distant date result in the discoveries of specimens hitherto unrecorded and altogether new to science. The invertebrates of India, for instance, excepting the *Rhophalocerous* and the *Heterocerous Lepidoptera*, are not well known. Many orders of Indian insects, such as *Hymenoptera*, *Diptera*, *Neuroptera*, *&c.*, are so imperfectly understood, that if anybody were to study them carefully, he would be in a position to add many new species to science. The work of determining, classifying and naming the insect pests of India, which commit so much havoc on crops, and whose depredations result in so much loss both to agriculturists and to the Indian Exchequer, is at present engaging the attention of Indian naturalists, and has been taken up in right earnest by the authorities of the Indian Museum in Calcutta, who have appointed Mr. E. C. Cotes as the man for this work. The labors of this latter gentleman have been productive of much good fruit, which has been embodied in a number of pamphlets, treating of the habits and the life-history of insects most destructive to agricultural produce, and published under the authority of the Trustees of the Museum. But this work is being accomplished almost single-handed, and what is needed for the successful and speedy investigation of the subject is, that there should be a greater number of workers in the field than there are at present, who will collect specimens of insect-pests, determine their life-history, and draw up named lists of them.

No one can be more useful in this field of investigation than native naturalists, for their opportunities of studying these pests in their native haunts are far greater than those of European naturalists with their scanty leisure and with their pressure of official duties.

It follows as a corollary to this, that the task of determining and protecting the insectivorous birds of India should receive the same amount of attention from Indian naturalists as that of determining and destroying insect-pests. Much has been done in this direction in Australia ; and the birds peculiar to the Avifauna of that country which have been found to be destructive to insect pests, have been scientifically studied. Lists of them have been drawn up, and colored illustrations of them, with descriptive letter-press, have been published by the School-Boards of Australia and distributed among Australian schools and colleges. But Indian birds destructive to insect-life are not much understood, and hence there is a great necessity for determining which species are insectivorous and which are not. In this field of investigation, too, there is need of a much larger number of workers than are available at present. Here is a wide field for the prosecution of researches into Natural History by native naturalists.

It is little less than a standing reproach to my countrymen that they should not turn to account their ample leisure and their splendid opportunities by exploring the imperfectly-known bye-paths of Indian zoology and botany. Mr. E. T. Atkinson, C.S., in delivering his annual address before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1887, observed : "Still very much remains to be done towards studying the Indian *Rhynchota*, and I believe there are amongst us men to whom the work would be congenial, and who would spare no pains to make it good. I would now call on such, whether members of our society or not, to take up even a section of the orders untouched, and to aid us by preparing lists, collecting specimens and noting the habits and life-history of the species. I should be glad to see our Native members take more interest in Natural Science, and thus wipe away the reproach that, perhaps, with the exception of the late Babu Harimohun Mukerji, and one gentleman in Bombay, there is not a single native of India, known outside its limits, for proficiency in either botany or zoology." The late Bishop Caldwell, who was a well-known scholar of the Dravidian languages of India, in addressing the graduates at the Convocation of the Madras University in 1878, observed that he had noticed with great pleasure, the fact that the natives of Bengal and Bombay (alluding to Dr. R. Mitra, Rev. K. M. Banerji, Pratapa Chunder Ghosha, Pran Nath Saraswati, Gour Dás Bysack and others of Calcutta, and to Dr. Bhau Daji, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar and Mr. Justice Kashinath T. Telang of Bombay) had taken to the study of Indian literature and antiquities ; but he regretted to observe that there was no native of India who had devoted himself to the study of the Natural History of India, *viz.*, of its rich fauna and flora. He went on to say that, should the natives of India betake themselves to these studies, the domain of natural science would be greatly widened, and the means of wresting her secrets from Nature rendered easier, considering that the facilities for studying them enjoyed by the natives are far greater than those of Europeans.

It affords me great pleasure to note that our fellow-countrymen of Bombay are applying themselves more and more to the study of the Natural History of India, for I find that the Natural History Society of Bombay, which was founded in 1883, counts among its members many native gentlemen of that Presidency.

This Society, which has for its main object the promotion of the pursuit of zoology, botany and geology, in all their branches, is doing much towards the diffusion of the knowledge of these sciences among the people of that part of India. The late Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, who

occupied the Chair of Botany in the Grant Medical College at Bombay, was a botanist of some repute, though he was not distinguished for any remarkable discovery in the science. Another native of Bombay—a Mahrathi gentleman, I believe,—Dr. K. P. Kirtikar is also well-known for his love of botanical pursuits, for I find that he lately contributed a paper on the "Folklore of Indian plants" to the "*Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*," which, "though not botanical, is of interest as containing tales and legends connected with many of our best known trees and plants."

From the above facts it will be evident that the natives on the Western side of India are applying themselves more and more to the study of Natural History, especially to that of botany, but my follow-countrymen on this side of India are as apathetic as ever as regards these pursuits, whether as a branch of liberal education or as an interesting recreation.

There are chairs of two of the most important branches of Natural History, *viz.*, one of Botany and another of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy, in connection with the Medical College of Calcutta, and they are occupied by two naturalists of great repute in India. Lectures on these sciences are regularly delivered to the students of the college in question, and occasionally practical demonstrations are also held by them. But, curiously enough, in spite of these opportunities of instruction, there is not a single native gentleman, either in the Subordinate Medical Service of this Presidency, or in the ranks of the independent medical practitioners, who has any reputation for proficiency in either botany or zoology. There have been native members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal since the year 1832, some of whom have contributed many papers of great merit on Oriental literature and antiquities to its *Journal*. But, strange to say, not a single paper on any one of the three principal branches of Natural History, written by a native of India, can be found in either its *Journal* or its *Proceedings*. Nothing could afford a more striking proof of the apathy of my countrymen towards these pursuits as means of intellectual recreation, than the fact that, though there is a lecturership on geology connected with the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, there is none either on zoology or botany. The cause of this is not far to seek, for the authorities of the institution, finding these two latter branches of science in great disfavour with the native students, have wisely excluded them from the curriculum of studies.

The curriculum of studies prescribed by the University of Calcutta for both the B. A. and M. A. Examinations includes zoology, botany and geology. There are graduates of the

University who have taken their degrees in these sciences. There are lecturerships on botany in connection with the Hooghly, the Krishnanagore, the Patna and some other district colleges in the Bengal Presidency, but most of these are filled by native Professors who pretend to teach botany to B. A. and M. A. students, but whose knowledge of the science is confined to its theoretical part, and who, instead of delivering lectures embodying original researches, simply read over the text-books, and thereby encourage the students to devote themselves to "cramming." It is with the aid of this latter process, by which they learn, by rote, their text-books, that B. A. candidates manage to pass their examination with honors in botany and zoology, and the M.A. candidates to graduate themselves as Masters of Arts in Natural Sciences. But the men who thus succeed in taking degrees in Natural History, take up these sciences simply because it is easier to take degrees in them than in other sciences. Their object is simply to pass their examination and not to continue their studies after they leave the college with a view to promoting scientific research. Hence the men who receive instruction in natural sciences in the different district colleges of Bengal, are devoid of that spirit of devotion to science, of that spirit of scientific research, which are of the very essence of scientific training, and which are the distinguishing characteristics of European naturalists.

I will now attempt to trace some of the causes to which this deficiency of the natives of India in Natural History, and their utter indifference to the study of these sciences are due.

The first and the most important of these causes is that the natives of India are altogether wanting in that faculty of observation which is necessary for the study of Natural History. This faculty is like a pair of spectacles through which we look up, as it were, to Nature and to Nature's God. The habit of observation is the only means by which we can attain to mastery over the Natural sciences, and the more it is developed and matured, the more it reveals to us things novel and curious in Nature which formerly escaped our notice.

There are the gay-winged insects, the "birds with painted wings," the wayside flowers, with the colors of the rainbow blended in them, and many other objects of beauty in Indian landscapes which delight the heart of a European, but possess no charm for the Indians. No native, for instance, ever pauses to watch the habits of a particular bird or insect, or to examine the structure of a particular flower. They are not imbued with that feeling of pleasure which "the meanest flower that blows" excites in the minds of many Europeans. No native of India feels any interest in these objects of Nature, except so far as they are subservient to his

daily uses. But, in justice to my countrymen, it must be said that they are not to blame for this deficiency in the faculty of observation, for something must be lacking in their mental constitution to make them so apathetic as regards Natural History pursuits. The faculty of observation is awakened in Europeans at a very early age. From their very boyhood, they begin to make collections of butterflies, moths, beetles, shells, and the like ; and European children will go to the most inaccessible places to collect rare flowers and ferns. In Darjeeling, European boys will climb the most inaccessible hills for the purpose of collecting natural history specimens. The true cause of this love of European children for natural history pursuits is, that they imbibe it from their parents. The majority of Europeans in India, as elsewhere, are in some sort field-naturalists—lovers of plants and flowers and birds and butterflies. Thus it is that the faculty of observation is often awakened in them in their earliest years ; and the home commonly becomes to them what the lecture-room occasionally becomes to natives when pretty well advanced in life. But the contrary is the case with my fellow-countrymen. As few of them take any interest in Natural History pursuits, their children also imbibe their indifference for these pursuits. The poorest of Europeans keep a few flowering shrubs in their houses, but even the richest of natives seldom have a single vestige of greenery in their homes. Consequently, native children find nothing in the shape of Natural History specimens in their homes to kindle in them that love of animals and plants which is at the root of the study of Natural History. The second cause of the deficiency is, that the predilections of the natives of India are for sciences the study of which requires no active exercise, as, for instance, the chemical and the physical sciences. My countrymen are fond of the pursuit of these sciences, simply because they demand for their study little of that physical exertion which is absolutely necessary for the pursuit of Natural History. The successful prosecution of the latter requires, as a preliminary condition, that animals shall be studied either in their native haunts, or by means of stuffed specimens preserved in museums with the aid of the taxidermist's art, or from living collections in zoological gardens ; that the life history and the morphology of plants shall be studied either in their places of growth, or in the *hortus siccus*, or herbarium, of a botanical garden ; that the geologist, armed with hammer and chisel, shall delve down into the depths of the earth before he can examine the stratification of the earth's crust, or the organic remains of extinct animals embedded therein. It follows that for the successful prosecution of these pursuits the naturalist

must be prepared to lead an outdoor life. The field-naturalist who ransacks the country for Natural History specimens, shooting animals, and collecting plants and fossils and minerals, for the purposes of preserving and mounting them, must be possessed of active habits, without which he will be unable to attain his object. The laboratory naturalist must also be possessed, to a certain extent, of the same activity; for, even in the recesses of the laboratory, skilful manipulation is necessary for the purpose of dissecting specimens and examining the structures of minute organisms. But the majority of my educated countrymen are most inactive in their habits, and lack the iron constitution necessary for the wear and tear incident to the prosecution of Natural History researches in wild tracts of country. Hence largely the deficiency of the natives of India in zoology, botany, and geology, and their utter apathy for these pursuits.

There is a third reason why the natives of India are not proficient in zoology. They are possessed of humane sentiments which render them unwilling to inflict pain on animals. But for the successful study of zoology, it is absolutely necessary that the structures of animal organisms should be examined in all their details, and this cannot be done unless the animals be killed. If you wish to study the morphology of a bird, or a butterfly, you must either capture it or kill it. If you wish to study zoology, or that branch of ornithology which treats of the nidifying habits of birds, you must collect the nests and leave the young to perish. But all these processes, as a matter of course, involve the infliction of pain, to which my countrymen are most averse. Moreover, the successful study of zoology requires, as a preliminary condition, that there should be good zoological collections, the making of which necessarily involves the destruction of animal life.

It is partly these humane sentiments towards the lower animals that have prevented my countrymen from betaking themselves to their study. It is precisely these sentiments which made Sir William Jones averse to the study of zoology. In his Tenth Anniversary Discourse, delivered by him in 1793, before the Asiatic Society of Bengal and embodied in the *Asiatic Researches, Vol., IV.*, he gave utterance to them, with his characteristic eloquence, in the following touching and noble words: "Could the figure, instincts, and qualities be ascertained either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the object of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction, or more exquisite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what

feeling, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird; and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage, and has never been delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyment, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful." Further, Professor Huxley, in his essay on "*The Crayfish: being an Introduction to the Study of Zoology*," has said that the study of the practical side of zoology involves much dirty work, for the internal organs of animals cannot be advantageously studied unless they are dissected so as to expose the parts. For this reason, also, Sir William Jones was averse to the study of the branch of Natural History in question. This aversion to the process of cutting open and disembowelling animals for the purpose of studying their internal structure, led him to the pursuit of botany, which he calls "the loveliest and most copious division in the Science of Nature." To this dirty work of dissection, which is necessary for the purposes of the study of zoology, and to which all natives, except students of medicine, are averse, much of their neglect of this branch of National History is due.

The fourth cause of the deficiency is that no special training in these sciences is imparted to students in our schools and colleges. It has already been shown that, though lectures on botany are given in some of our District Colleges to students who have taken up that science, for either their B. A. or M. A. examination, they are delivered by incompetent men, who know very little of its scientific principles. These lecturers hold no practical demonstrations for dissecting plants, in order to display their internal structure and their minute organisation, nor do they make excursions with their students into the surrounding country for the purpose of botanizing. The case is very different with European lecturers. Dr. George Watt, while he was the lecturer on botany in the Krishnanagore College, and Dr. Gregg, while he filled the same office in Hughly, not only held practical demonstrations in botany, but, accompanied by their students, made botanizing excursions into the neighbouring fields in order to teach them the practical side of the science.

There is no lecturership of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy in any of the colleges in Bengal, except the Medical College, Calcutta, and these, though they are open to both medical and lay students, are in one sense inaccessible to the latter, for they can be attended by outsiders only on payment of fees, at the rate of so many lectures for so many rupees. Recently, however, a class for teaching geology has been opened in the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, and lectures on that science are delivered by P. N. Bose, Esq., B. Sc. F. G. S., Assistant Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India. These are only isolated attempts at imparting

instruction in Natural History, whereas what is urgently needed is, that it should be systematically taught in our schools and colleges, and that lectures should be delivered on it regularly.

I have now come to the last part (though not the least in importance) of my subject. I would venture to suggest some remedies which, if adopted, are calculated to encourage the study of Natural History amongst my fellow-countrymen, and will, in the end, lead them to devote themselves more and more to Natural History pursuits.

The first remedy is the teaching of the elementary principles of zoology, botany, and geology in the lower forms of our schools. The second remedy which I will venture to suggest, is the publication of elementary Bengali works on these sciences, suited to the understanding of young children, under the auspices of the Director of Public Instruction.

Though a few works on zoology and botany exist in the Bengali language, as for instance the *Práni Vrittánta*, or Descriptive Zoology, and the *Udbhida Bidya*, or Science of Botany, and another work on botany written in Bengali by Dr. George Watt, there are no Bengali works on geology proper. The few books on zoology and botany that exist in the Bengali language are taught only in the Calcutta Normal School and other institutions which prepare candidates for the Minor and the Vernacular Scholarship Examinations, these two sciences being included in the curriculum of studies prescribed for them. But the number of Higher Class English Schools teaching up to the Entrance Standard, is greater than that of the Middle Class Vernacular Schools. Now it is absolutely necessary that the teaching of the elementary principles of these sciences should be made compulsory in the lower forms of our Schools.

The study of zoology has been popularized in England only by the publication of elementary works on the science by the Rev. J. G. Wood. It is to the publication of "a series of cheap entertaining handbooks, as novel in design as they are unpretending in their titles, and which abound in both scientific and practical knowledge, most felicitously conveyed," that the credit of having made the pursuit of Natural History popular recreation among English boys and girls is mainly due. It was through the noble efforts of the late Professor Henslow that classes in botany were formed in the village-schools of England, and that the study of this science was thereby popularized in that country. It is highly probable, therefore, that if the study of these pursuits be made compulsory in the lower classes of our schools, our boys will become more and more imbued with a taste for them.

They should not be taught in the same way as the dry-as-dust details of history or geography are taught. The lessons should be made as interesting as possible by being illustrated with specimens and drawings. In the case of botany, they should be illustrated by the exhibition of dried or living specimens of plants; and their structures, and economic uses should be impressed on the students. In the case of zoology, care should be taken to make the lessons interesting by the showing of colored drawings of animals, such as those contained in the "*Plates Illustrative of Natural History*," published by Messrs W. and R. Chambers of Edinburgh, and by the relation of anecdotes illustrative of their habits. So, in teaching geology, minerals and fossils should be shown and their properties explained. In this way, and in this way alone, can the study of Natural History be popularized in India.

The third remedy which I would propose, is that teachers should make excursions to the Royal Botanic Gardens at Howrah, to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens at Alipore, and to the Indian Museum. The dry lessons taught at school may be made much more impressive and instructive if the young learners are brought face to face with the very animals and plants, descriptions of which they have read in their text-books. This plan of making excursions to places of scientific interest for the purposes of intellectual recreation, was first adopted by the Institution for Physical Training which was established at Sealdah about twelve years ago, but which no longer exists. The teachers accompanied the students and explained to them the habits of a particular animal, the properties of a particular plant or mineral. The same plan, I am glad to find, is being gradually adopted by many of the schools and colleges of Calcutta. The usefulness of the Calcutta Zoological gardens as a factor in the education of the "masses" in the principles of zoology, will be evident from the following extract from the Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Gardens for 1888-89: "A large number of students and teachers from various schools and colleges of Calcutta and its suburbs have, as usual, been admitted free of charge. The Committee have much satisfaction in reporting that the usefulness of the Zoological Gardens as an adjunct to sound nursery education is being recognised by Bengali authors. In *Ma o Chhela* (Mother and Son), a Bengali book on nursery education, a chapter has been devoted by the author to a discussion on the instincts and habits of animals as they may be studied in the course of a visit to the garden, with a view to stimulating the faculty of observation in the youthful mind. This is very encouraging. In order to afford facilities to intelligent visitors for identifying birds where large numbers of them are exhibited

together, the Committee have adopted the plan of putting up colored pictorial representations with the name written underneath each species." In the Zoological Society's gardens in the Regent's Park, London, there is a lecture-hall where lectures on zoological subjects are from time to time delivered, and these have been republished in the shape of two volumes of "*Zoological Sketches*," with illustrations by Wolf. In the same way the educational influence of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens might be greatly enhanced if the plan of delivering popular lectures on zoology, illustrated by specimens living in the gardens, were adopted. The inhabitants of this country evince the greatest amount of interest in zoological collections from the sight-seer's point of view, but their ignorance of the habits of animals is very great. Hence I am sure, the delivery of these lectures would be one of the best methods for imparting to them a more accurate knowledge of the fauna of this and other countries. Most other nations have, from the remotest antiquity, evinced great interest in animals, and have shown a passion for making zoological collections. The Emperor Darius and Queen Berenice must have had menageries, for otherwise the former could not have cast the prophet Daniel into a lion's den, and the latter could not have accomplished the difficult feat of taming the 'monarch of the forest.' The ancient Romans, too, had zoological collections, though they kept them, not for the purpose of studying their habits, but of those cruel exhibitions—the fights of wild beasts with one another, or with the gladiators, who "were butchered to make a Roman holiday." Formerly a zoological collection was kept in the Tower of London, and the lions were its great attraction. The travelling menageries of former times, as for instance, Wombwell's and Astley's, were the only collections from which the "masses" in England derived their knowledge of strange and curious animals. But since the foundation of the Zoological Society of London in 1826, or thereabouts, by Sir Humphrey Davy and Sir Stafford Raffles, and the opening of its magnificent gardens and menagerie in Regent's Park, the English public have been familiarised with the forms of exotic animals. Collections of wild animals have been kept in Paris since the middle of the seventeenth century, in the *Jardin du Roi*; and these collections were further enriched in 1794 by the transfer thereto of the royal menageries of Versailles and Rainey. In these collections originated the famous and fine assortment of *ferœ naturæ* now kept in the "*Jardin des Plantes*." Buffon, Cuvier, Geoffrey St. Hilaire and Milne-Edwards have been the presiding geniuses of these collections, and the science of modern zoology owes its origin to them and to their work in connection with them. In

Berlin, the "Thier-garten" is rich in the number and variety of its specimens of the animal world.

From the above it will be clearly seen that the educational influence of these collections in the instruction of the "masses" in the principles of Natural History is very great. The Calcutta Botanical Gardens at Seebpore, on the other side of the river, is less popular as a place of recreation than the Alipore Gardens. The reason of this is that the former is situated at a great distance from Calcutta, and is very inconvenient of access. On the other hand, the Indian Museum is very popular as a place of recreation, not only with the educated portion of the native community, but also with the lower classes. It is a well-known practice among Bengalee school boys to pay a visit to the Indian Museum, the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, or the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, on the day on which their schools break up for some long vacation. As most of these boys are from the lower forms of our schools, and as such, are ignorant of the history of the vertebrates and invertebrates, and the plants and other specimens exhibited in the Zoological, Botanical and Geological collections of these institutions, a visit to them means only idly wandering through the galleries and the conservatories, without the least scientific interest in the collections being awakened in their minds. If, however, some person were appointed by the Trustees of the Indian Museum to enlighten the native visitors as to the habits of the various animals exhibited there, the history and the economic uses of the various kinds of rocks and minerals in the geological and the mineralogical galleries, and the forms of animal life in pre-historic ages, as illustrated in the palæontological galleries of the Museum, a visit to the institution would not only be a recreation, but at the same time, be fraught with instruction to them.

In the same way I would suggest the publication of cheap guide-books to the Natural History collections in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, the Calcutta Botanical Gardens and the Indian Museum, written in popular Bengalee; and I am sure they would not only command a ready sale amongst our school boys, but serve greatly to increase the educational value of these institutions.

The fourth remedy I would suggest is the establishment of a professorship of Natural History in connection with the University of Calcutta, in view of the fact that the three principal branches of Natural History, namely zoology, botany and geology, are included in the curriculum of studies prescribed by that body for the B. A. and the M. A. examinations. As the University of Calcutta is, like the University of London, an

examining body, the Presidency College, Calcutta, represents its teaching counterpart, just as the University College in London is that of the latter. Therefore it would be highly advisable to found a chair of Natural History in connection with the Calcutta Presidency College. Should this suggestion be acted upon, many B. A. and M. A. students would take up either zoology, or botany or geology; for, hitherto, want of proper facilities for the study of these sciences has been a great bar to their being extensively selected as branches of the study for the examinations for the higher degrees of the Calcutta University, which, in one respect resemble the Natural Sciences Tripos of the Cambridge University. It is mainly for this reason that the number of *alumni* of the Calcutta University who have graduated in natural sciences is so small; and the few that there are, have succeeded in passing in these subjects either by attending the lectures on zoology or comparative anatomy at the Calcutta Medical College, on the payment of a heavy fee, or by attending the lectures on botany at the District Colleges of the Bengal Presidency.

As biology is included in the curriculum of studies prescribed for the first B. Sc. and the second B. Sc. examinations of the Bombay University, there is a chair in biology in connection with the Elphinstone College of that city. All the universities of Great Britain and Ireland and on the Continent of Europe have endowed chairs of Natural History for imparting instruction in these sciences, and for promoting and encouraging their study. Of the three universities in the three sister presidencies of India, those of Madras and Calcutta only are without chairs of these sciences, and it is my firm conviction that should such chairs be endowed, and should prizes in the shape of appointments in the public service, as subordinate curators in the museums and the botanical gardens throughout India, be offered, a great encouragement would be given to the youths of India to devote themselves to the pursuit of Natural History. It is also my firm belief that if these suggestions were acted on, thousands of Indian students would flock to the lecture-room of the Natural History Professor, and devote themselves in right earnest to the study of these sciences. Apart from the emoluments which would accrue to my countrymen from a pursuit of these studies, in the shape of Government service, another important benefit would result. They would be enabled to do great good in a practical way to their country. The study of the practical side of zoology would enable them—(1) to encourage the acclimatization and domestication of various exotic birds and animals; (2) to improve the indigenous breeds of cattle and farm-stock in the country, especially as the local breeds of the former are fast

becoming degenerated; (3) to foster the increase and improvement in the supply of fresh-water and salt-water fishes, which constitute the principal animal food of the natives of India. If they devoted themselves to the study of botany, they would be in a position—(1) to introduce exotic plants, flowers, and fruits into India; (2) to improve the indigenous vegetable products; (3) to develop the vegetable resources of the country, and to introduce new industries. If they studied geology, they would be able—(1) to exploit the mines of India; and (2) to develop the mineral resources, and foster the mining industries, of the country. Besides these benefits, which the study and the pursuit of Natural History would enable the natives of India to render to their country, its study would facilitate and promote scientific investigation regarding the fauna and the flora of India, and enable them to wipe away the reproach that the natives of India are deficient in the knowledge of Natural History.

SARAT CHUNDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

## ART. XI.—THE STIMULANTS OF THE CLASSES.

OF the many interesting points connected with the excise administration of India, the one that appears to have most escaped notice is the question of the favourite form of stimulant of each caste and tribe. The relative advantages of the different systems, and the increase and decrease of revenue and consumption, have been themes of discussions for years; and the subject, if not worn threadbare, has nothing now to attract attention, since the Government thundered against Mr. Caine. But the questions, "what people drink?" and "what people smoke?" and so on, are really deserving of prior consideration It is, no doubt, a very simple plan to govern on first principles and say: "It is a bad thing for natives to consume stimulants of any kind. There shall, therefore, be prohibition" It is, on the other hand, a very easy thing to refer to ancient history—how Akbar had his wine parties, and every village had its still,— and argue that things ought to be the same now. But the importance of an accurate knowledge of the nature and amount of stimulants at present consumed by each class has not always been understood

About the year 1874, Mr Clarmont Daniell, Collector of Cawnpore, made the liquor-sellers all over the district record the caste only of every man that came into their shops for a drink. The report of the N.-W. Provinces for the year 1873-74, contains the following mention of the experiment —"For the last two years Mr. Daniell has been collecting information of the number of purchases of spirit made by different castes, the retail vendors in the city and cantonments, as well as in the district, recording the number of daily sales and specifying the caste of the purchasers, . . . . the number of purchasers, distributed over each of five main divisions being given in the margin I do not myself see how this information is to be generally utilised, for local conditions affect the consumption of spirit even more than the relative numbers of different classes of the population."

| | 1872 73. | 1873 74. |
|---|---|---|
| Kayasths | 8,691 | 7 359 |
| Cultivators | 18,399 | 18 983 |
| Low castes . | 1,11,577 | 90 225 |
| Artizans .. | 122,099 | 86 666 |
| Musalmans ... | 13,718 | 8,236 |
| | 2,74 484 | 2.11,469 |

Apparently everybody since then has agreed with the Excise Commission of 1874, and there is nothing recorded of subsequent experiments of this kind in the N.-W. Provinces. However, during the last year, enquiries of this nature have been made in the district of Gorakhpur. The use of stimulants

of some kind, is found necessary by nearly every one in that district, owing to the malarious and depressing climate, and possibly the result of the enquiries may be held useless for comparison with other places. But, such as it is, the result is as follows :—

The stimulants used are tobacco, preparations of hemp, preparations of poppy and alcohol. Tobacco is consumed in three forms, smoking tobacco, chewing tobacco, and snuff. The last two forms of consumption are common to all classes ; the former is considered a digestive, and the name of the latter is "Brain-clearer," which explains itself. Tobacco is not smoked by the Brahmans of the place, and they look with some contempt on the western Brahmans who have no holy horror of the "chillum."

Opium is eaten and drunk and smoked, and there is no sort of prohibition of it in any class. The cultivators of the poppy keep the scrapings of their pots to use as medicine, and bring it to use for every kind of sickness. But the chief consumption of opium is in large towns, at Raja's courts, or among town-bred men living in the country. The drinking of opium dissolved in water is not very common, and is mainly practised for coolness' sake in the hot weather ; opium is smoked as either kafe, or madak, or chundu, and is eaten by habitual opium eaters, simply for the sake of the intoxication. In the city of Gorakhpur, with a population of about 60,000 people, a recent census of opium eaters and smokers gave a total of 998 Mussulmans and 190 Hindus. The detail of the Musalmans is as follows :—

| *A. General Classes.* | | *B. Petty Traders & Artisans.* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saiyid | ... 42 | Weavers (julahas) | ... 188 | Masons (thawai) | 17 |
| Sheikh | ... 263 | Carders (dhunnia) | ... 39 | Flour merchants (umkeri) | 15 |
| Mogul | ... 76 | Butchers (kasai, etc.) | 20 | Cobbler (mochi) | ... 13 |
| Pathan | ... 222 | Dyers (rangrez) | ... 13 | Oilmen (teli) | ... 4 |
| | | Fish, fruit, and vegetable sellers (kunjra) | | 5 | |
| | | Bangle makers (manihar) | | ... 4 | |
| | | Burnishers (sikligar) ... | | ... 3 | |
| | | Goldwashers and refiners (niaria) | | ... 3 | |

*C. Labourers and domestic employés.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boatmen (mullahs) | ... 4 | Singer (miraki) ... | ... 1 |
| Barbers (hajjams) | ... 27 | Drummer (dafali) .. | ... 1 |
| Tailors (darzi) ... | ... 47 | Eunuch (hijra) .. | ... 1 |
| Sweepers (halalkhor) | ... 29 | Courtesans (tawaif) | ... 15 |
| Cowkeeper (ghosi) | .. 1 | | |

The Hindus shew an equal variety of occupations and castes :—

| *A. High Castes.* | | *B. Cultivators and pastoral castes.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brahmans | ... 20 | Kurmis | .. 12 | |
| Chattris | ... 10 | Khatiks | ... 5 | (market gardeners) |
| Kayasths | ... 21 | Ahirs | ... 6 | (cowherds) |
| Banias... | ... 32 | Gadariya | ... 1 | (goatherds) |

### *C. Petty traders and artisans.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Blacksmith (lohar) | ... | 1 | Sweetmeat sellers (halwai) | | |
| Potters (kumhar) | ... | 3 | Pan sellers (tamoli) | | |
| Kalwars | ... | 1 | Grain-parchers (bhuj) | | 4 |
| Carpenters (barhai) | | 3 | Oilman (teli) | ... | 3 |
| Leather-workers (mochi) | | 1 | Jewel-threaders (patchra) | | 6 |
| | | | Brass workers (kasera) | | 1 |

### *D. Labourers and domestic employés, &c.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kharas (bearers, &c) | 11 | Comiers (sowars) | 6 | Mattockman (beldar) | |
| Boatmen (mullahs) | 2 | Gardeners | ... 2 | Sweepers | ... |
| Chamar ... | 1 | Barbers | ... 4 | Courtesan | ... |
| Juraha (a kind of kahar) ... | 8 | Pasis | ... 2 | Gosain (mendicant) | ... |
| Bhar) ... | 1 | Porter (palodar) | 1 | | |
| Bari (leaf-plate maker) ... | 4 | Washerman | ... 1 | | |

There are no castes or occupations conspicuous by their absence, and the apparently greater prevalence among the higher castes is no doubt due to the dearness of the drug as compared with other intoxicants.

Even in the rest of the district the Musalmans consume more opium than the Hindus. In four of the sub-treasuries, where opium is sold, in a short period, 221 Mussalman buyers were recorded, and only 207 Hindus. Considering that they are only one in 10, the number of Musalmans ought not to be so large; but a very large portion of the purchasers are chaprasis, clerks, and servants of officials of the place. Further, each Musalman consumes more than each Hindu. Among these the chief purchasers are zemindars, who come sometimes themselves to buy, but generally send their servants. The cultivating and labouring classes cannot afford opium except for medicine, but depend for occasional intoxication on drugs and liquor.

Of the several forms which the preparations of hemp take, charas is almost unknown in the district, as a whole, and majum is eaten only at Holi time. The latter is eaten by all,—being a sweetmeat flavoured with bhang. Charas is not smoked by the Brahmans, who avoid the "chillum." For the same reason they never use ganja. This is obtained from Bengal, and sold for a quarter of its weight in silver. It is supposed to afford the most gradual and least harmful means of intoxication, and is in consequence largely partaken of by all classes. The hemp plant grows wild over the greater part of the district, and those who cannot afford to buy ganja, pluck and dry the hemp plant, or buy bhang very cheaply in the drug shops. Bhang is more generally eaten mixed with food, than smoked, and its intoxication is more rapid and harmful. Brahmans who dare not drink, and cannot smoke or afford opium, fall back upon this, as the only stimulant left to them. In many cases they indulge inordinately. There is a well

attached to the thirteen liquor shops. There is a queer tribe of astrologers whose main settlement is at one of the large towns of the district, called Bhârerias or Jotikhis. There are 78 of them in the list, apparently about one for every family of them. The rest of this class is made up of some ancient inhabitants called Tharus, who are gradually being driven into the farthest corners of the north of the district, and of some settlers from the hills who are know generally as "pahariyas," without distinction of caste, and who are mainly cultivators, but in some cases have taken service with zemindars.

Class (*c*) comprises the real drinking classes of the community. The lower class of traders and pedlars make a comfortable living, and are not bound by the scruples and observances of the true "bunia," and nearly the same may be said of the skilled labourer or artisan. It is true that the total number of drinkers is larger in the ordinary labouring classes, but when the difference in the total population of the two divisions is considered, it is clear that, man for man, drinking is much more prevalent among what may be called the mechanic class. The distillers, or Kalwars, are 1,081 in number. The total number of this caste at the last census was 30,806. There is no doubt that every man in the caste drinks, and the number of men may be estimated at 6,000 or nearly six times the number recorded as having accounts. Of course, very many are employed in the various stills and shops, and in nearly every case the owners are also Kalwars. But it is perhaps not unreasonable to infer that for other castes all round, we may estimate that there are at least five drinkers to every one recorded debtor. If that estimate is made, we arrive at a drinking population of about 76,500 out of an adult male population of about 5,23,000.

Besides the Kalwars, the other traders in this class are:—metal vessel makers (226), oilmen (335), grain parchers (157), pân sellers (44), and tobacco sellers (3.) The vessel-makers are, relatively speaking, more numerous in the city and the large towns of the distillery tract. The oilmen and grain parchers are found everywhere, but not all of them follow their own trade. The pân sellers are nearly all city men.

Of the mechanical castes the potters give most drinkers—663 in all. They are proportionately most numerous in the outstills, there being only 17 of them in the distillery tract outside the city. A possible explanation of this is that among the high and cultivating castes of that part of the district, a potter is more fettered in his principles and practices than he is among the lower castes in the outstill tract.

Next to the potters come goldsmiths (494), blacksmiths (168) and jewel-threaders (125). None of the others number

over one hundred. Their order by numbers is as follows:—bamboo-workers, carpenters, confectioners, perfumers, stone-masons, leather-workers, and lac-workers.

In class (*d*) there are 543 Bhars, or woodmen, 203 cowherds and 122 goatherds. Of the hunting tribes the bahelias number 24, and the musahirs 126. There are also 148 nats, strolling acrobats, 12 badhiks, reformed dacoits, 4 banjaras, and 102 doms.

The total number of this last-named tribe in the district is only 1,400, of whom about 250 are adult males out of jail. The principal reason of the large proportion of them in arrears for their drink is that, as they are mere beggars. they are seldom able to pay at all; but their vocabulary of abuse is large and their character of the lowest, and so the shopman gives them a peace-offering, and puts it down on the chance that some day he may be paid.

Of the men classified as being in domestic employment, the larger portion are barbers, washermen, gardeners, tailors and leaf-plate makers, and the full number is made up by a few sweepers, family-bards, and singers and dancers. All the washermen are great drinkers, and over the greater part of the district the barbers are nearly as bad.

The labouring classes comprise the four great groups of curriers, bearers, toddy gatherers and boatmen (chamars, kahars pasis and mullahs.) These, with their subdivisions, have 2,590, 497, 762, and 1,773 drinkers, respectively. The chamar and pasi groups are spread over the whole district fairly evenly; the kahars are relatively numerous in the city, for the palki is still a fashionable conveyance here, and servants are mainly taken from the "turaha" subdivison. The boatmen are found mainly along the navigable rivers in the south of the district, and among them the "kewats" who are just as much agricultural labourers as boatmen, are the men most given to drinking. The remaining labouring castes are bunias (saltpetre workers) who have 185 drinkers, beldars with 161, porters with 62, and grasscutters with 39.

The mendicant class is made up of fakirs, gosains, sains, sadhus, atiths and jogis.

There only remains for consideration the question—"who are the consumers of European liquor?" The answer cannot be given with detailed accuracy. It may be said roughly that many well to do town-bred people, who are not over burdened with religious scruples, drink; unorthodox Musalmans, who can afford it, often prefer English liquor, but kayasaths and bunias are the main consumers. The former class furnish nearly all the clerks in the public offices, and a very large portion of the local bar, and their example has had its effect even on a few

brahmans. The only other consumers are a few blacksmiths, carpenters and bunias, who may be contractors or mastermen and have acquired the taste by association with Europeans and Eurasians in the course of their work.

It may appear that the question of the nature of the consumers of country liquor has been treated at too great length. The objection may have weight, in so far as it is made on the ground that the first recorded statistics of a single district are not fully reliable, and that they are of little practical utility. But if similar particulars were collected and compared for all the districts in a province, it might, very possibly, lead to the explanation of many curious points of excise administration. The difference in consumption in different districts, the fluctuations in receipts from year to year, in some places even the allocation of shops, have been occasionally dealt with on grounds that may have been perfectly correct, but were perhaps stated too generally, or too little supported by the necessary detailed figures. The consumption of liquor in any year in any district depends on several variants, the chief of which are—firstly, the nature of the land, its products, and its climate; secondly, the nature of the year and the condition of the people during the year; and thirdly, the nature of the population; and the third variant is not the least important of the three. The old formula for finding the drinking population of a district was: "Take the six principal disreputable castes, add them together, and divide by five," and every student of the old reports knows that the results obtained used to drive Commissioners wild. The district that had the most drinkers drank only a third of the quantity consumed by its neighbour, and this neighbour had only one half the number of people to drink it. The deduction was plain; the shops were not sufficient and the demand was supplied by illicit distillation or by smuggling. But when this deduction was applied in practice, it was seldom found possible to increase the number of shops. Perhaps smuggling would not be denied; but it is possible also that castes which did not drink in one district were large consumers in the next. There is no reason to suppose that the collection of figures, such as those summarised above, would be more difficult in other districts than it was in Gorakhpur, and if ever they were obtained for a whole province, they would afford a better standard and guide for excise administration than any that at present exists.

## HORACE: BOOK III, ODE 21.

*"O Nate Mecum Consule Manlio."*

YOU were born with me in the Comet year,
And now, whatever message you bear,—
Complaint, strife, jest, or the madness of love,
Or sleep, which you always easily move,—
Come down, my bottle, come down from above.

You are fine old Port, whatever your label,
On a festive night fit to come to table,
And the master himself has given command
To bring out a wine of the finest brand:
So come, come down from the top of the stand.

And not he, I am sure, is morose enough,
Though he soaks himself with Socratical stuff,
To neglect your charms: why they say, though it's droll,
That even Cato, that prim old soul,
Would his virtues oft warm with the "flowing bowl."

The smooth engine you ply, its way will find
To the heart of the sternest of mankind;
The wisest men will their cares expose,
And even their secret counsel disclose,
'Neath the power of the "god with the jolly red nose

*You* can bring back hope to minds in despair,
And hope gives strength :—why that pauper there,
If you your aid to his head afford,
Does not fear the flash of the soldier's sword
Or the * towering wrath of the greatest lord.

So, if Venus will kindly sit by my side,
And the trio of Graces so hard to divide,
Bacchus and I, by the lamp's living ray,
Will prolong your life to the dawn of day,
Till the rising sun drives the clouds away.

H. JOSEPH.

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* This translation of "iratos apices" partakes somewhat of the nature of a hypertrophe (to say nothing of a pun); it is usually translated "angry spears."

# THE QUARTER.

THE resignation of Prince Bismarck takes precedence of the other notable events of the past three months in point both of time and of general importance. The incident possesses a twofold significance, accordingly as it is regarded with reference to the motive that may have prompted it, or to the consequences by which it is likely to be followed. Given a strong and not unreasonable desire on the part of the young Emperor to be his own master, and it was no very difficult matter for the counsellors by whom he was surrounded to persuade him that the Empire was ripe for a change in the spirit of its domestic policy incompatible with the continuance in office of the late Chancellor.

General Caprivi's speech at the opening of the Prussian Diet is clear enough on this point.

"It is involved," he said, "in the nature of the case and in human nature, that against a force like that of Prince Bismarck other forces could hardly find place; that, in the face of his resolute and self-reliant ways, regarding the conduct of affairs, many another tendency had to fall into the background, many a desire, even if justifiable, could not be fulfilled."

In other words, Prince Bismarck was unjustifiably conservative, and intolerant of counsels which did not fall in with his own masterful methods.

The changes resolved on in the method of administration seem, as far as they have transpired, to be of a distinctly liberal character. The Chancellor is no longer to rule the ministerial roost, but is to be merely *primus inter pares*, and, of course, the Emperor is to exercise, in practice as well as in theory, the supreme control.

"The particular ministerial departments," continued General Caprivi, "will gain larger scope and greater prominence than hitherto. It will be inevitable that, within the Prussian ministry, the old collegiate constitution of the ministry shall obtain more recognition then was possible under that mighty President."

Along with this change in the distribution of power and responsibility within the ministry, there is also to be a change in the attitude of the Government towards the various Parliamentary leaders.

"Without possessing any formal authorisation, I believe I

am warranted in declaring, in agreement with my colleagues, that the Government will everywhere be ready to receive such arrears of desires and ideas, and subject them to fresh examination, and, so far as it becomes convinced of their practicability, to fulfil them."

All this may mean much or little, in the way of actual change of policy; and it is, no doubt, put forward partly for the purpose of justifying, in the eyes of the country, the one great change which the Emperor found indispensable to his sense of freedom and Imperial dignity, and of producing a popular impression. There is sufficient evidence, however, in the recent rescripts of the Emperor, that he holds strong views regarding the necessity of active measures to ameliorate the condition of the working man and mitigate the bitterness which has arisen between labour and capital. A similar democratic, or rather, philodemic, tendency is exhibited in the desire of the Emperor to break down the monopoly of military commissions hitherto enjoyed by the aristocracy. It would be premature, however, to conclude that these professions indicate a disposition on the part of the Emperor to use his own power more moderately, or to concede to the people a more effective voice in the Government of the country than they at present possess.

For some time it was thought that the dismissal of the late Chancellor foreshadowed important changes in the foreign policy of the Empire. Because the Emperor chose to be polite to the French delegate to the Labour Congress, sanguine Parisians conjured up visions of Germany purchasing French friendship by the neutralization of Alsace and Lorraine, while Austria, on her side, reasonably sensitive to the faintest indications of danger, was seized with apprehensions of a closer *rapprochement* between Germany and Russia. The cry was even raised that the Triple Alliance was about to be replaced by a fresh combination, in which Germany, France and Russia would feather their nests at the expense of Austria and Italy. It is clear, however, that if the Emperor ever entertained any such purpose, he has abandoned it for the present.

Nor, judging from Count von Moltke's speech in the Reichstag on the New Army Bill, are the pacific aspirations attributed to the Emperor inconsistent with pessimistic views of the European situation, or with a determination to be prepared for all eventualities. The Bill, which was introduced on the 14th May, provides for an addition of 18,000 men and seventy new batteries to the peace strength of the army. In vindication of the necessity for such a measure, Count von Moltke laid marked stress on the revolutionary tendencies at work among the

masses, and the ambitious projects of nationalities, which had taken the place of dynastic considerations as causes of war.

The Labour Congress at Berlin resulted in a series of philanthropic Resolutions of the most moderate character, which, if generally carried out, would merely assimilate the labour laws of other Continental nations to those of England. But there is no sign that the Emperor has in view any practical step for the purpose of getting them carried out, and very little probability that other nations would acquiesce in them, if he had.

The great labour demonstration in favour of an eight hours working day, threatened throughout Europe for the 1st May, owing partly to the vigorous measures taken by Germany, Austria and France to frustrate it, and partly to a difference of opinion among the working men themselves, turned out very sporadic, and, at the best, a very tame affair. London, where 300,000 people are said to have gathered in Hyde Park—though not on the 1st of May—made the greatest show as regards numbers; but the demonstration was perfectly orderly. The fact is, the movement embraces only a small section of the working men, the majority of whom are acute enough to see that such legislation is not only outside the pale of practical politics, but, if carried out, would tend to aggravate present economic difficulties. In France and Spain disturbances resulted in several places, but they were promptly suppressed.

Mr. Goschen's annual Budget statement, which was made on 17th April, showed an estimated surplus of £3,549,000, which was to be applied as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Expenditure on barracks next year ... ... ... | | £300,000 |
| Volunteer equipment (£50,000 besides from Army vote) ... | | 100,000 |
| Imperial postage reduced to 2½*d.* ... ... ... | | 80,000 |
| Abolition of gold and silver plate duty— | | |
| Drawback ... | £120,000 | |
| Duty ... ... | 80,000 | 200,000 |
| Twopence off tea duty (6*d.* to 4*d.* per lb.) ... ... | | 1,500,000 |
| Currant duty reduced from 7*s.* to 2*s.* per cwt. ... ... | | 210,000 |
| Transfer to local authorities of 3*d.* per gallon beer-duty imposed last year ... ... ... .. | | 386,000 |
| House duty reduced— | | |
| £20 to £40 house from 9*d.* to 4*d.* | | |
| „ shop „ 6*d.* to 2*d.* | | |
| £40 to £60 house „ 9*d.* „ 6*d.* | | |
| „ shop „ 6*d.* „ 4*d.* ... ... | | 540,000 |
| | | 3,316,000 |
| Estimated surplus remaining . | | 233,000 |
| | | £3,549,000 |

In addition to the reductions of taxation indicated in the above table, Mr. Goschen further proposed to reduce the duties on indentures of apprentices and health policies, and, in assessing the income-tax, to allow loss incurred under one schedule to be set off against profit made under another. The Budget also provided for an additional duty of six pence a gallon on spirits, the amount realised, together with the 3*d.* per barrel imposed last year on beer, to be made over in aid of the local revenues.

The Budget, which appears to have given general satisfaction, is interesting to India, chiefly on account of the reduction of the Overland letter postage to 2½*d.*, implying, as it does, the adoption of a similar step by the Indian Government, and the remission of the silver duties. The latter measure will probably not have much effect on Indian trade. A proposal to institute a special hall mark for silver manufactured in this country is so plainly inapplicable to local conditions, that it can only have been made through ignorance of the facts, and, as it is certain to be strongly opposed by the Government of India, it is likely to come to nothing.

If Stanley's expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha was a fiasco, not unassociated with tragic elements, its sequel partakes decidedly of the nature of comedy. Having accompanied Stanley to the coast, and staid there awhile to recruit his strength, Emin has returned to the interior with a German expedition, for what precise destination bound, or on what purpose bent, is still a matter of speculation, though the latest reports are that its objective is the Victoria Nyanza. The event has given rise to an acrimonious controversy as to the real object of Stanley's expedition, and the motives and conduct of the two men, and to some apprehension as to the policy of Germany in East Africa.

In the absence of an impartial account of what occurred at Wadelai, the public are hardly in a position to arrive at any definite conclusion on the former points. Certain facts, however, are obvious enough. It is clear, in the first place, that Emin asked for help to enable him to stay at Wadelai, and not to leave it. It is also clear that, whatever may have been Stanley's original instructions, or intention, he was not, when he arrived at Wadelai, in a position to render effective aid for the former purpose. When he first joined hands with Emin, indeed, he was himself quite helpless. When he reached Wadelai, the second time, after a long absence, occupied in bringing up the remnants of his expedition, it was too late; and, even had this not been the case, the succour brought would have formed an altogether insignificant contribution to Emin's means of defence.

It is further evident, from Stanley's own narrative, that he was grievously disappointed with his reception by Emin, and

that his disappointment led him to indulge in statements regarding the Pasha which are strangely at variance with what is known of his previous career, and which, if true, might have been generously withheld.

Father Schynze's statement, that the object of the expedition was rather the appropriation of Emin's ivory and province, than his rescue, may safely be dismissed as the outcome of spleen.

That the suspicions entertained of the anti-English character of the German operations in East Africa are not wholly without foundation, may be inferred from the fact that negociations on the subject are going on between the two Governments. The necessity for such negociations seems to imply pretty plainly either some infraction of the understanding arrived at between Germany and England three years ago, as to the spheres of their respective operations, or some difference of opinion regarding its interpretation. Circumstantial accounts of the nature of the difference have appeared in several English journals. According to the Berlin correspondent of the *Standard*, Germany claims the recognition of her agreement with Portugal, which divides between these two Powers, the South Zone, including Lakes Nyassa Tanganyika and Victoria; and she suggests as a further dividing line between her sphere of influence and that of England, the Nile from Lake Victoria northward.

Baron Marschall's statement in the Reichstag on the 12th May, that Germany is resolved in the prosecution of her Colonial policy, especially in East Africa, to proceed hand in hand with England, is, however, to a certain extent reassuring. It is highly probable that the two Governments understand one another very well. But it is doubtful whether the people of England are prepared to acquiesce in the understanding, and there is an angry feeling abroad in the matter, which Stanley, who has had a magnificent reception in England, is doing his utmost to foster.

The passing of the second reading of Mr. Balfour's Irish Land Purchase Bill, on the 17th April, by a majority of eighty, is the most important Parliamentary event of the Session,—if not the most important that has occurred since the present Ministry came into power. The majority was greater than had been expected, even by Ministers themselves, up to within a few days of the termination of the debate. It may be said that the vote, being a strictly Party one, affords no test of the merits of the Government measure. But it at all events shows that Lord Randolph Churchill has utterly failed to shake the allegiance of even half a dozen of his party. The magnitude of the victory, however, is less important than the exposure of the hopelessly disorganised state of the Opposition of which the debate was the occasion.

No one will pretend that the Bill is perfect. Many who voted for it, doubtless, thoroughly disapproved of its principle in heart, but both parties being committed to that principle by their previous acts or utterances, it was too late to challenge it with any chance of success, or even any semblance of decency, though Mr. Parnell was not deterred by any such consideration in propounding his alternative scheme.

What Conservatives, at all events, had to consider, was whether the principle of buying out the landlord was carried out by the Bill in the best and safest way practicable under existing circumstances. No conceivable scheme of doing this could be entirely free from pecuniary risk to the British Exchequer in the last resort. Possibly the risk, even with Mr. Balfour's elaborate precautions, is greater than the Government chooses to admit, though, after all, it is not sensibly greater than that of open rebellion in Ireland. But it would be difficult, if not impossible, to devise any plan that would materially diminish or postpone it, consistently with the same scale of operations.

Mr. Parnell's proposal was apparently a cunning device for enabling the Irish Party both to eat their cake and have it. He would have preferred to accept a few millions less, on terms nicely calculated to perpetuate the causes of agrarian strife, and consequently his own opportunities of influence.

Whether the passing of the Bill, which will probably undergo extensive modification in Committee, will settle the Irish difficulty, is questionable. But it may be expected to deprive the Irish Party, who will now, doubtless, endeavour to minimise the importance of the land question, of a considerable amount of popular support.

There have also been important debates in the House of Commons on Bi-metallism, Scotch Disestablishment and the Licensing question.

Under existing conditions, any discussion of the question of a double standard in England must necessarily be academic in character. Mr. Samuel Smith's Resolution of the 8th April was of the usual type. He asked the House to declare that the evils which had resulted from the divergence between the relative values of silver and gold, following the monetary changes which took place in Europe in 1873, could be best dealt with by a Conference of the chief commercial nations of the world, to consider whether the bi-metallic system could be re-established by international agreement in the interests of all the nations concerned. This was moderate enough as far as regards the immediate object in view, and sought to commit the House to no definite opinion on the main question. The House, however, probably considered the prospect of a practical agreement being arrived at by a Conference too remote

to justify the serious waste of time and disturbance of the public mind which the proceedings would be likely to cause. The Resolution was supported by Mr. Holdsworth and Mr. Balfour, and opposed by Mr. W. R. Smith, Sir L. Playfair, Mr. Goschen and Sir William Harcourt.

The debate was chiefly remarkable for the attitude taken up by Mr. Balfour, who held strongly that the establishment of bi-metallism was not only practicable but desirable, and that the view that there was any special difficulty in bringing about an international agreement in the matter, was antiquated, and for the ambiguous utterances of Mr. Goschen, who, while half-heartedly admitting the desirability of a double standard, denied its present practicability. In speaking of the view that there is any serious difficulty in establishing an international agreement as antiquated, Mr. Balfour surely ignores the antagonism of the international interests involved. He might, indeed, as well say that the view that there is any serious difficulty in establishing the millennium is antiquated. The motion was negatived by 183 to 87, a majority which may reasonably be expected to secure the House a long rest from this perplexing and unprofitable subject.

In the meantime the eyes of all who would be benefited by the appreciation of silver are turned towards America, where the silver party are making a supreme effort to secure for that metal a more advantageous position in the currency of the country. For some time it seemed probable that Congress would agree to a Bill for increasing the compulsory coinage of silver to four and a half million dollars monthly; but it was apparently found impossible to arrive at an agreement as to how the certificates should be made redeemable, which is the crux of the question. Subsequently Mr. Plumb introduced into the Senate a Bill for the free coinage of silver, presumably on the basis of the equivalence of a silver coin of 412½ grs. to a gold coin of 25⅘ grs. This, in its turn, has now been abandoned, in view of the probability of its being vetoed by the President, and hopes are again entertained that Congress will pass a Bill providing for the monthly purchase by the Treasury of four and a half million dollars worth of silver, the certificates of which shall be redeemable in either coin or bullion. According to the latest telegrams the Bill in question has been adopted by the House of Representatives.

The mere prospect of the passage of such a Bill has caused a rapid rise in exchange, which stands at 1*s.* 6$\frac{1}{32}$*d.*, as compared with 1*s.* 5$\frac{3}{32}$*d.* on the 1st April last.

The best authorities, however, are of opinion that the hope of any measure of the kind permanently raising the price of silver is

illusory; and, though we think this is an extreme view, we should strongly recommend both countries and individuals who have silver to turn into gold, to act on the principle of making hay while the sun shines, in case of the Bill passing.

It may not be inappropriate to quote here what Mr. Frederick A. Sawyer, in an article in the *Forum* for May, says of the effect which the Bland Bill has produced in the past, and and of what is likely to be that of the free coinage of silver in the future:—

Ever since the Bland Act went into operation, our currency has been gradually drifting on to a silver basis, and a continuance of our present policy must ere long drive out of circulation all our gold coin. The poorer always displaces the better currency. When United States treasury notes were worth less than par in gold, the latter went out of circulation. Our silver dollars are worth less than par in gold, and it needs no prophet to foresee the disappearances of the gold coin from our currency. The treasury notes were for years an irredeemable currency; and notwithstanding the fact that their maker was a great, powerful, wealthy, and honorable nation, they were discredited, because they were not money, but only promises to pay money. The silver dollars have not even this advantage. They bear no promise of the Government to pay their nominal value in money. They are evidence in themselves that they are not what the law declares them to be, that is, equal in value to gold dollars. The treasury notes, though irredeemable at the moment, gave assurance that they would be redeemed ultimately in the amount expressed on their face. The silver dollar holds out no hope that it will ever be redeemed at what the law declares to be its nominal value. At present it is redeemable at about 70 per cent.; next year it may be worth 50 per cent. The director of the mint is authority for the statement that the price of silver has declined 20 per cent. since 1878. If the next twelve years should show an equal decline, the Bland dollar should then be worth 56 cents.

But it is alleged by the advocates of free coinage of silver dollars of the present weight and fineness, that the price of silver will be raised; that a piece of silver weighing 412½ grains, of standard fineness, when it shall have received a certain impression at the United States mint, will be worth one dollar, though without such impression it is worth only about seventy cents. Since the Bland Act went into operation in 1878, the United States mint has put that impression on about three hundred and fifty millions of such pieces of silver, and yet their value to-day is much less than it was in that year. The reason is manifest. The stock of silver on hand, as compared with the demand for it, has increase relatively to the stock of gold on hand, as compared with the demand for gold. The fact that the stock of silver on hand is in the form of coins or of ingots; the fact that it is in the possession of individuals, banks, or the United States treasury—these are powerless to change its market value so long as it is accessible to any demand that may be made for it. The silver which is piled up in the treasury vaults, whether represented by certificates of deposit or not, is just as much in the market as if it were held in the purses of the people.

It is in circulation when represented by outstanding certificates of deposit. Though locked up in the treasury and not represented by outstanding certificates of deposit, it can be drawn out at any time by those having other forms of currency. Coinage, therefore, does not withdraw silver from the market, and consequently is powerless to raise its price. Whoever expects that free coinage will materially affect the value of the product of the silver mines of the country, will be disappointed. But so soon as the United States Government shall adopt the policy of taking silver bullion and coining silver dollars therefrom, free of charge, the pace at which our gold coins leave the circulation will be accelerated, and our entire currency will soon consist of silver and its representatives.

Dr. Cameron's motion in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland, made on the 2nd May, was supported by Mr. Gladstone, on the ground that the

opinion of the majority of Scotchmen was now in its favour. This he attempted to show by a comparison of the votes given by Scotch members of the House for and against similar Resolutions in 1886 and 1888 respectively. It may be admitted that the figures in question, so far as they go, support the contention. The proof derived from them is not, however, conclusive, inasmuch as the question was not placed before the constituencies who elected the members concerned, and Mr. Gladstone himself, in his Midlothian Campaign of 1885, as Lord Hartington pointed out, expressly urged the constituencies not to let the question influence their votes. Still there appears to be no reason why the members thus elected on independent grounds should not be taken as fairly representing average Scotch opinion on the subject. At all events, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the feeling against the Establishment in Scotland has made great advances since 1886.

In one respect Mr. Gladstone showed a complete change of front, by boldly declaring the burden of proof to lie on those who would maintain the existing order of things, a piece of political logic which will, no doubt, duly delight the party of revolution generally. One of Dr. Cameron's supporters, Mr. Esslemont, entirely repudiated the appeal to statistics, contending that the Establishment was unfavourable to Christian union by creating envies and jealousies, and that, the greater the majority in its favour, the greater was the wrong done to the outside minority—a principle, the general application of which would be attended by some highly curious results.

The motion was defeated by a majority of 38, in a House of 474 members, which contrasts ominously with the majority of 112 against the Resolution of 1888.

Lord Randolph Churchill's Licensing Bill, which was read a first time on the 30th April, proposes to entrust the power of granting or withholding licenses to the Municipal, or County Councils, as the case may be. Two-thirds of the ratepayers of any parish are to have a direct power to veto the granting of any licenses in the parish; and the present twelve varieties of license are to be reduced to two—a full publican's license, and a refreshment house wine and beer license. The Bill also provides for the registration of clubs, on payment of a fee proportioned to their rating, and varying from thirty shillings in the case of working men's clubs to two thousand pounds in that of the great West End clubs. No proposals for compensation are included in the Bill, as they would involve taxation, to propose which is outside the functions of a private member; but Lord Randolph Churchill insisted emphatically on the indispensable necessity of compensation, as a condition of the

abolition of licenses, and therefore of the passing of his Bill. Mr. Ritchie, on behalf of the Government, cordially welcomed the Bill; but the temperance party are determined to spare no pains to wreck it, rather than endorse the principle of compensation. In other words, judging them by their own professions, they prefer perpetuating the evils of intemperance, and so ruining millions, body and soul in the future, to recognising the claims of a few thousands, who have profited by it in the past, to the most moderate measure of consideration. Surely bigotry could hardly go further. Since the licensed victuallers and their supporters will row in the same boat with Sir Wilfred Lawson and his party on this occasion, the practical result will probably be that the Bill will be thrown out on the second reading. and things will go on as before, except in so far as the operation of the Local Taxation Bill may tend to reduce the number of licenses. The object of this Bill was the allocation of the money derived from the additional duty on spirits and the 3*d.* beer tax, which, as stated above, have been transferred to the local authorities. Of the total, a sum of £440,000 was assigned to enable local bodies to buy up and extinguish any licenses which they might deem it desirable to abolish. The clause was fiercely contested by the Temperance Party, on grounds similar to those just described; but the Government stood firm, and declared their determination to sacrifice the entire Bill, rather than surrender it, and the result was that the second reading was carried by a large majority.

India, during the last three months, can hardly be said to have done much towards the making of history.

Sir David Barbour's Annual Financial Statement, which was published on the 21st March, is not a particularly interesting document. The revised estimates for the past year showed an expected surplus of Rs 1,80,97,000. The year actually closed with a surplus of Rs. 2,56,90,000, but part of this arose from anticipation of receipts which should properly have fallen within the current year. The Budget for 1890-91 shows an estimated surplus of Rs. 27,04,000. The only fiscal changes introduced were an addition of one rupee per gallon to the tax on imported spirits, and the imposition of a small duty on Indian brewed beer.

On the 12th April, Bombay bade adieu to Lord Reay, who if he did no very serious mischief—a point on which it would, perhaps, be premature to pass judgment—succeeded in causing the Government more embarrassment than, perhaps, any previous incumbent of the same office had done.

His farewell speech furnished an illustration of the proverb of "the ruling passion strong in death." Amid much self-laudation, of the Uriah Heep type, he announced, with reference to the famous indemnity imbroglio, that, when orders

were received from home which appeared to him to violate the terms of the Queen's Proclamation, he at once tendered his resignation. What the sequel was, he did not say ; but, presumably he intended his hearers to infer that, owing to the high estimation in which he was held by his employers, his resignation was not accepted. Sir John Gorst, however, gives a different account of the matter. Lord Reay, he says, often threatened to resign, but never actually tendered his resignation. He did not add that, had he done so, the resignation would have been accepted ; but, rightly or wrongly, the general impression is that this was in his mind.

The Chin Lushai campaign has been brought to a successful termination. The enemy, in most cases, submitted without a struggle, and the loss on our side, which is not light, has been mainly due to sickness. The establishment of fortified posts in the country furnishes a guarantee, which was wanting on previous similar occasions, that the work will not have to be done over again. It is questionable, however, whether these posts are as strong as they ought to be ; and there is some ground for fearing that, owing to the pestilential nature of the climate, the security they afford will prove very costly.

The Shan Siam Boundary Commission have returned to India, after accomplishing the object of their journey, as far as that could be done in the absence of the Siamese Commissioners. They were, on the whole, well received by the people of the country through which they passed ; and one of the fruits of the expedition has been a satisfactory arrangement with the troublesome Tsawbwa of Theebaw, who has entrusted the Government with the charge of two of his sons to be educated in England. The attitude of the Siamese Government towards the Commission has been one of severe neglect. Whether their omission to co-operate in the work of delimitation was due to their confidence in British honesty, or to pure obstructiveness, will be seen when the work of the Commission comes to be made the subject of negociations between the Court of St. James's and the Bangkok Durbar.

The negociations between the Chinese Amban and the Government of India, which were carried on in Calcutta, resulted in the signature of a treaty between England and China. The conditions of the document are not publicly known, but they are understood to include the recognition by China of the British suzerainty over Sikkim, and they probably include little or nothing else which is likely to be of any practical importance.

The condition of Jessore, where the opposition of the ryots to the cultivation of indigo, fostered largely by political

agitators of the young Bengal class, had assumed such serious dimensions as to threaten the ruin of the industry in that part of the country, has been a source of much anxiety to the Local Government. Owing to the vigorous measures taken by the authorities, things, during the last month, have quieted down; but it is to be feared that a strong feeling of irritation still remains.

Lord Lansdowne has made his first serious mistake, in sanctioning an ill-advised attempt to assess to the income-tax the profits of foreign consignors on goods sent to India for sale on commission. The proposal, which is alike inequitable and impracticable, has provoked strong and unanimous opposition on the part of the mercantile community throughout the country, and will probably be abandoned. An unexpected, but natural, result of the blunder has been to revive the latent hostility to the income-tax, and a general movement to procure the abolition of that obnoxious impost seems not unlikely to follow.

The Government of India has, within the last few days, addressed two important sets of resolutions to the different Local Governments, embodying the conclusions at which it has arrived on the reports recently submitted by them regarding the state of criminal administration in their respective jurisdictions One of these documents refers to the necessity of more stringent control over habitual offenders. The result of the late enquiries, it is considered, has been to show that recent improvements in communications have facilitated the operations of certain classes of criminals to such an extent as to make it necessary to strengthen the hands of the Police; and the Government of India considers that, for this purpose, it is desirable to legalise the surveillance of bad characters. A Bill, with this object, recently submitted by the Punjab Government, has accordingly been circulated with a view of eliciting the opinions of the Local Governments on the principle of the proposals contained in it. At the same time the Government of India records its opinion that, while the maintenance of a public register of suspects is objectionable, there are not the same objections to a secret register, and that domiciliary visits to ascertain the movements of suspected characters should be legalised.

As regards the Police administration generally, the main conclusions arrived at appear to be that there is a want of proper cohesion between the regular and the rural Police; that the lower officers of Police employed in investigations are incapable and untrustworthy; that the Police generally are inadequately paid; that the Subordinate Executive Service is unduly weak in European Officers, and that the working of the Jury system is unsatisfactory.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the name of Mr. Colman P. Macaulay, who died very suddenly on the 2nd May, the day after his arrival from England, and on the eve of taking over charge of the Chief Secretaryship to the Government of Bengal. The deceased had been for some time in ill health, but the fatal result was immediately due to the exhausting effect of a railway journey from Bombay at the hottest time of the year. The Government has lost in Mr. Macauly one of its ablest political officers.

J. W. F.

*The 10th June* 1890.

# SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

*Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department.* No. CCLXV., Home Department Serial No. 8. Papers relating to Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges in India.

*QUOT homines, tot sententiæ.* Governments and Provincial Associations, men in the Department of Public Instruction and amateur educationalists, ecclesiastics and journalists, representative Indians and unrepresentative Englishmen interested in the subject—have been severally consulted. And all seem to have divergent ideas on some point or other. To give even a summary account of these differentiations of opinion in the limited space at our command would be an impossibility. We shall content ourselves with a brief notice of some of the more salient matters mooted.

The Government of India holds that gymnastics and a system of marks and prizes for efficiency therein are good disciplinary agents, and that a judicious use of the rod is a more suitable form of punishment for breaches of discipline than fines. This is an argument addressed to the pocket which seems to find favour with parents. Native opinion, generally supposed to be so averse to corporal punishment, does not appear to be universally so, at any rate, if communications received from the British Indian Association, Calcutta, the Madras Graduates Association, and Mr. Shriram Bhikaji Jatar, Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, can be regarded as exponents of influential opinion in three different Presidencies.

Rao Bahadur Mahadeb Govind Ránade, special Judge under the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, thinks flogging should be reserved for very flagrant cases. The Committee of the Mahomedan Literary Society "beg to state that corporal punishment, often of a severe character, was quite common in the indigenous schools of the country." But, they are of opinion, that in deference to latter day humanitarian sentiment, only milder forms of such punishment, should now-a-days be had resort to as a disciplinary agent. Men interested in the

matter of school discipline would do well to consult "A Book about Dominies" which was published at Edinburgh some 20 years ago, as to the legitimate use of the rod, and, indeed, as to the whole subject of a Schoolmaster's duties, responsibilities and difficulties. 'Tis a thoughtful earnest-minded book, and might be helpful to many who have the interests of education at heart.

The collection of the Reports and Opinions before us leads to the conclusion that the efficacy of moral text books as a means of moulding character and conduct is not much believed in, in India: home influences are shown to be the only ones strong enough to be relied on for permanent results. It is pointed out that, in the East, morality cannot be dissociated from religious systems. For the bulk of the people their conventions of caste morality (mores) *are* their religion. The remark applies equally to Hindus and Mahomedans: infinitesimally few of the latter are free from caste trammels. Caste enlightenment, and pure and sensible home influences are the only agencies that can be looked to with any confidence as likely permanently to influence for good, school and college morality. At the same time something may, here and there, to a slight extent, and in the way of example mainly, be done by men of high personal character, and gifted with the faculty of impressing their personality on those with whom they are brought in contact, in the course of their school and college work. Unfortunately for the world, such faculty is rare. And even if Arnolds abounded in it, the inducements held out by the Indian Educational Department are scarcely such as to tempt them to exile themselves, when they can find more congenial and equally meritorious work ready to their hands in the land of their birth, amongst their friends and loved ones. Arnold's name reminds one of the much vexed monitorial question. It is a system as to which there is much diversity of opinion in India. It appears to be very imperfectly understood by head-masters of Indian schools. *e. g.*, Mr. Waman Abaji Modak, Principal of the Elphinstone High School, Bombay, took credit to himself not long ago, for having *improved* on the English monitorial system. His notion of improvement was the transfer of the powers of his prefects to two assistant masters—under whose surveillance prefects are merely to report offences against school rules—to tell tales out of school.

Sir Alfred Croft's Report is full without being diffuse; evidently the outcome of thoughtful experience and uncompromising common sense. It leaves nothing to be desired, though Sir Alfred himself is fain to regret that his hope of receiving clear statements of opinion from unaided colleges for native students in Calcutta has been disappointed. He claims, however, in

spite of this, to have been able to submit a fairly representative Report. Personally, the Director of Public Instruction holds that instruction in morality, to be effective, should be conveyed indirectly rather than directly—

To confine moral teaching to fixed hours would be to weaken the force of that conviction, which, by every means, we should endeavour to implant—that morality is the business of one's whole life, and affects every department of human action alike. With the young, morality will be most firmly established if its bases are taken for granted, and not made the subject of analysis or argument, as if they were capable of proof or disproof. But teaching, whether direct or indirect, counts after all but little in the formation of character. The difficulty lies, not in knowing what we have to do, but in doing it. What is required is not to inform the intelligence, but to discipline and train the will.

Apropos of the desiderated Moral Text Book of the future, we are assured that in Bengal and Behar every reading-book put into the hands of lads who learn English in our schools, is guided by a direct moral purpose. The lives and actions of good or great men, stories of temptation, of weakness and failure, of persistent courage and final success, such as form the staple of our school-books, whether in English or in the vernacular, afford abundant opportunities for illustrating and enforcing the precepts of morality, and of arousing and stimulating in the minds of the young, an enthusiasm for all that is of good report. It is sensibly recognized that education is by no means the same as instruction; that it is rather full and equal development of the moral and intellectual nature together. It has been urged that English literature and English history, being deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty and independence, school boys learning their lessons therefrom, are by them misdirected to lawlessness and insubordination. *Credat Judæus, Apella.* Sir Alfred Croft does not. "Such lessons of insubordination as any of them may learn from that source are acquired, it is more probable, at second hand, and are derived from the society in which they live." ..... "Parents complain on all hands that boys are getting beyond their control." *They yield to, or are powerless over, their sons, and they wish to transfer their responsibility to the schoolmaster.*

The italics are ours. Moreover, there is a further cause, over and above the incompetence or indifference of parents. For, in cases of insubordination, these two often side with the boys against their teachers. It is too commonly assumed that the pupils must be in the right, the schoolmaster in the wrong. They fail to see how all important it is to a lad's life career to have acquired at school sensible notions on the subject of discipline and respect for elders. What has been said of the attitude of parents towards school discipline may be repeated in almost the same terms of the native press on this side of India. Public journals open their columns freely to the

complaints of school-boys against their teachers—a phenomenon which probably finds no parallel in any other country in the world.

Sir Alfred Croft is disposed to think that much of the insubordination complained of originates in mistranslation, misconception of the meaning of the term gentleman, *e. g.*, the announcement sometimes to be met with in newspapers that a *gentleman* was found lying drunk in the road. The Bengali student thinks he has a right, as one of the *Bhadra lok*, to claim, in all circumstances, that consideration which in England is accorded to those only who, to respectable birth and education, add a certain standard of morals and conduct. Wanted for Bengal—a healthier tone of public opinion, and better comprehension of the true meaning and inclinations of self-respect. We must not put away Sir Alfred Croft's valuable Report without first extracting the following :—

But, after all, Christianity, Brahmoism—the new wine of Western evolutionary science poured into the old bottles of Hindu philosophy—these things do but touch the fringe of educated Hinduism; and the question still confronts us, to what theory of life, to what ultimate basis of conduct, can we appeal in addressing members of a society whose religious, and therefore, whose ethical principles have been fatally undermined by Western education? It may perhaps be thought that, in spite of this destructive process, enough of the old religion still remains to supply a standard of conduct and a motive to morality. If so, I have at any rate been unable to ascertain its existence. I speak on such a matter with the utmost diffidence, for I regard it as almost impossible for a foreigner to acquire accurate insight into the state of religious feeling where all is undergoing change. But from the many conversations that I have had with persons who are entitled to speak with authority on these questions, I have derived the impression that no foundation is left; that educated Hindu society, in its traditional observance of ordinary moral laws, is in fact "working without sanctions." The vague form of theism, to which, at the best, the popular religion has been reduced in the minds of educated Hindus, is altogether too thin and colourless to supply the emotional force without which theological propositions are powerless to influence conduct.

Mr. Chester Macnaghten, Principal of the Rajkumar College, Raj Kote, thinks, as we do, that the questions relating to discipline and moral training put forth by the Government of India, are not less difficult than they are interesting. For, as he says, so much depends on influences which no Government can ensure, that one feels that all the recommendations, good as they are, may be carried out, and yet results be as unsatisfactory, (or nearly so) as they are at present. The question is one which depends "not only on the circumstances and character of those who teach, but also of those who are taught; and in the peculiar condition of India, the relation between these circumstances and characters, so complex in themselves, is very complex indeed."

Here is an extract from Mr. Macnaghten's paper, instinct with the essence of religious neutrality accompanied by a keen desire to be a means of helping on the inculcation of moral precepts :—

At one time a good Maulvi lived in my college, who was much respected in Kathiawar. He lived here as the Musahib, or companion, of Ghujeffar Khan, now Khan of Manawadar. While this Maulvi was among us, he often gave lectures on the Koran to the Muhammadan boys, and I have seen him at the head of a *queue* of them, praying in our cloisters. I believe that the moral tone of the whole college was distinctly better for that Maulvi's presence. We all knew that there was a good man among us.

We have no Muhammadans now in my college, but of late, on Sunday afternoons, a few religious lectures have been given by Shastri Jivanram Mahidhar, of the high school, who is a good and gentleman as well as a Sanskrit scholar. This is something of an experiment conducted under approval of the native members of our College Committee. If these lectures dwell too much on Hindu mythology to suit our Western ideas, and somewhat too little on spiritual grace and practical duty, yet I think they do good rather than harm, if only because they remind their hearers, if only for a few minutes in the week, that life has its serious and unworldly side.

Mr. Macnaghten thinks matters would be simplified greatly, and would perhaps correct themselves, if Government should be able to withdraw from its responsibility for educational institutions. That would be a leap in the dark which the educational fitness of local self-governing bodies scarcely gives warrant for as yet, we are afraid.

THE

# *CALCUTTA REVIEW.*

## VOLUME XCI

October 1890.

*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.*—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.
MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.
LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO.,
57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.
BOSTON, U. S. A: MESSRS CUPPLES, UPHAM & CO.,
283 WASHINGTON STREET.

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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1.—The Indian Church Quarterly Review. Edited by the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer, M. A. July, 1890. Calcutta : The Oxford Mission Press. i

2.—Travel, Adventure and Sport. No. IX. Tales from Blacwood No. VIII. of Third Series. W. Blackwood & Sons. Edinburgh and London. ii

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7.—Note on the Decline of the Silk Trade in Bengal. By Baboo Nitya Gopal Mukerjee ... *ib.*

8.—The Previous Examination Algebra Guide, being the Bombay University Arts Examination Papers in Algebra from 1865 to 1889, with their solutions. Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay, 1890 ... ... *ib.*

9.—Translations into Persian. Part I. English. By Major A. C. Talbot, C.I.E., B S.C, Fellow of the University of Calcutta. Calcutta : Printed and published at the Baptist Mission Press, 1890. ... ... ... ... vii

10.—The Present Social Reaction : what does it mean ? (The Substance of a Lecture delivered extempore at the Bethune Society, Calcutta, on Thursday, December 5, 1889, H. J. S. Cotton, Esq., C. S., presiding.) By Bepin Chandra Pal. Calcutta : Printed and published by K. C. Dutta, B. M. Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, 1890 ... ... ... viii

and fair fight, and no favour shown to either side; but to be perpetually on the move without coming face to face with any real big body of foes; to be constantly shot by twos and threes by an unseen enemy; to have your convoys perpetually attacked by small parties, who rarely show themselves; to be disturbed over and over again at night by volleys fired into camp, and to find your telegraph wire cut again as soon as it is mended, is distracting, demoralising, and distinctly unsatisfactory in every way.

It is by no means easy to cope successfully with such foes, and put a stop to this desultory fighting, and those who are engaged in a campaign conducted on such lines are keenly alive to the unpleasant fact that the general public take no interest whatever in the campaign and do not care two straws about it. What the general public take an interest in is a big war with lots of fighting, and the inevitable long lists of killed and wounded. So strong is this feeling, that the majority turn up their noses at men who get medals or honors for guerilla campaigns, and say they are cheaply earned; but those who have actually taken part in such affairs know very well that there is just as much chance of being killed or wounded as if there had been a big fight or two, and that the campaign taken as a whole is often really one big fight split up over a large tract of country, and carried on by small isolated bodies. If all these little skirmishes could be focussed in one spot, and could all be made to come off at once, the general public would be accommodated with a very big fight indeed. Another point which the "general public" mostly overlook is that a campaign thus conducted is invariably accompanied by great havoc and mortality from what a soldier dreads more than the bullet, viz., the silent and invisible foes called Typhoid, Malaria, Cholera and Dysentery.

I do not think guerilla warfare comes under any one particular heading in the Field Exercises, but, I am quite certain it ought to have a special section to itself, with sub-headings and paragraphs, all nicely numbered, and plates attached in orthodox style. The subject should also be divided into two distinct headings, and I propose so to divide it in the present paper, which will deal with:—

(*A.*) *Guerilla Warfare in the Plains as exemplified by the Upper Burma Campaign of* 1887-89.

(*B.*) *Guerilla Warfare in the Hills as illustrated by the Chin-Lushai Expedition of* 1888-90.

To begin with the Burma Campaign of 1887-89:—

I do not want to make invidious comparisons between one General Officer and another, or between one brigade and

another, but as it is (or should be) a golden rule to write about only what one knows, I must, perforce, confine myself to what took place in the 3rd Brigade District in Upper Burma, under Brigadier-General Sir William Lockhart, in which I myself served.

Let us first glance at the state in which General Lockhart found his Brigade and District when he took over the command in (I think) September 1887. The Head-Quarters were at Ningyan (now known as Pyinmana), and the Brigade was scattered about over a large district, and established in posts the garrisons of which varied from fifty to three or four hundred rifles.

The country was so overrun with King Theebaw's disbanded soldiery, dacoits and disaffected Burmans, that it was unsafe for any one to venture even a hundred yards or so outside a post alone and unarmed. The roads were execrable, and often lay, for miles, entirely hidden under water to turn up again in unexpected places; while convoys proceeding from post to post were constantly being attacked. What fighting there was, partook essentially of the nature of guerilla warfare. Our men could rarely get the enemy to stand in any numbers, and it was generally a case of two or three volleys, replied to, of course, by us, though we could see no one, and a corpse or two, or a wounded man, to be carried in to the next post, while we had not the satisfaction of knowing whether we had killed, or even hit, any of the enemy, or not. Then, again, posts would be suddenly fired into at night; men would tumble out of bed and man the parapet, be received with another volley, and then hear derisive shouts getting fainter and fainter in the distance, which told them the attackers had departed. Occasionally these attacks on our posts were made with a certain degree of persistence, and the firing on both sides would be kept up for an hour or more. The result, however, was the same; we could never tell whether our fire had been successful or not, and only knew that our enemies, so far from considering themselves beaten, still continued to annoy our convoys, and attack our posts as vigorously as ever, and pick off any one who was unwary enough to venture a little way out by himself. The depredations, too, on villages near the posts continued with unabated vigour showing in what contempt our enemies held us. Ningyan, the Head-Quarters of the Brigade, was far too large a place to fortify with a parapet and ditch, for not enough men were to be had to man so long a line of parapet; so the Burmans would creep at night almost up to the barracks themselves, and fire off all round. I think I can hear some theoretical soldier exclaim: "What were your sentries doing that they allowed the Burmans to come so close up?"

To him I would reply, "Respected Sir, have you ever tried blacking your body, and, going naked and barefoot, to see how close you could creep up to a sentry on a dark night? If not, try it; or rather come and do sentry go for a few nights in a Burman or Chin campaign. If you can spot a Burman or Chin who is trying to elude your eye, at a greater distance than 25 yards, then you will beat a Goorkha sentry, who, for keenness of vision, and quickness of hearing, on a dark-night, beats a cat."

I have tried to describe briefly the state in which General Lockhart found the 3rd Brigade District. "Decidedly unsatisfactory" was, I venture to think, his idea of the situation. It was impossible for him to move troops while the whole country was flooded, and when the water dried up, it was known to be next to impossible to get the Burman bands to stand in anything like numbers, and so have a big fight, conducted on the principles of the Drill Book, certain sections of which estimable work, though excellently adapted to the country round Aldershot, are singularly useless to us in our numerous frontier guerilla campaigns.

Now let us see how General Lockhart faced his difficulties, and managed, in some three or four months, to break up the main bands of the enemy. In the first place, he directed that officers commanding posts should not content themselves with simply remaining in their posts, and waiting to be attacked. It was necessary that they should display some energy, and endeavour to pay the Burman back in his own coin. I have said it is, or should be, a golden rule to write about only what one knows. To act up to this rule, I am obliged to describe what I myself did, for I had command of an isolated post, and I do not know what other officers commanding posts did, though I imagine they acted pretty much as I did; so, if I am pronounced egotistic, I cannot help it, and must content myself with the knowledge that I am innocent of any wilful intention of being so.

Well, I used to take out small parties about four or five times a week, sometimes by day, sometimes by night, and either make for a blazing village, set on fire by a band of depredators, and endeavour to overtake them, or catch them returning; or else I would lie up in ambush at some place where I thought we might get "a put in."

I was frequently informed that the Burmans were going to attack my post. My garrison had, when I first took command, been told off in parties to defend certain parts of my little fort, and were practised in the day time so that every man should know his place and there should be no confusion in case of a sudden alarm. When I was informed that I was likely to be attacked, I used to go out some distance and post sentries and

piquets on the most likely lines of approach. Of course, times without number, I and my little parties returned unsuccessful, after a toilsome night of watching in ambush, or of out-lying piquet work, or after a still more toilsome night of scrambling across country, through paddy fields covered with a foot or two of water below which was bottomless mud. Sometimes, by day, I made a reconnaissance, in some direction or other, several miles a way from my post, and made a rough map of the country. Occasionally, but very rarely, I was fortunate enough to flush some Burmans. At last I had the satisfaction of seeing that the Burmans got wind of my wandering disposition, and, not caring to fall a prey to one of my ambuscades, their bands, once so thick round my post, receded further and further, and convoys in my neighbourhood were seldom harassed.

Well, this scouring the country round our posts was one of the first things General Lockhart had done ; but, meanwhile, whilst waiting for the country to become passable for larger bodies of troops, he caused various posts along the line to be heavily rationed, in order to use them as supplementary bases during his cold-weather operations. Again, it was well known that the Burmans obtained information of our movements and intentions, hours, and perhaps days, before we could arrive at any place we purposed to attack. So General Lockhart ordered a certain number of days' rations to be packed and kept handy, so that he could start off on a *daur* at literally a moment's notice, while no one but himself and his Brigade-Major knew when or where he was going, till he suddenly ordered a party to start. This was very disturbing to the Burmans. When General Lockhart, tired of waiting for the waters to dry up, started off in this sudden way to attack the Kemmendine Prince's camp, he caught the Burmans napping, and gave them an unwelcome shock of surprise, though he did not on that occasion succeed in actually catching or killing the Prince. These *daurs*, or expeditions, before the water and ground had properly dried up, were terribly trying, especially to transport officers. Mules would suddenly disappear up to their necks in a small hole of bottomless mud, which looked quite innocent, and the men found the marching very heavy.

One of the sources of annoyance in a campaign in an unsurveyed country, is that the guides through either carelessness or actual ignorance of the road, frequently lead you wrong, and, not infrequently, they do so purposely. As one of the essentials of success in coping with an enemy who indulges in guerilla warfare is night marching, it is indispensable to have good and reliable guides, coupled of course with reliable information as to the whereabouts and position of your enemy. I say that night marching is essential to success, because by means of it

you are enabled to steal upon your foe's camp, village, or stockade, and surround it, before he can run away. Night marches across country, or through dense jungles, on execrable little paths, are difficult and exhausting; but in guerilla warfare, the difficulty must be faced, and I think it is a pity that troops and officers are not more practised at this work, than they are, in time of peace.

There is one difficulty connected with night marches which presents itself at once, and that is how to take one's transport animals with rations, &c., along with one, over bad paths in the dark, when the column, marching in Indian file, unavoidably lengthens itself out into a long line. A mule falling down, or slipping its load, causes great confusion, and delays the column when it can ill afford to waste time. As, of course, no bugles can be sounded, word is passed up to "halt in front," but until the men get accustomed to passing words of command up and down the line, it will often happen that the front of the column goes on, leaving a great gap between itself and the centre. Altogether, it is advisable never to take any transport with a column doing a night march, and we used to leave a small escort to bring on the baggage and rations the next day. A small escort was quite sufficient guard, for we found that our turning up suddenly, in the early morning, near a Burman camp, resulted in the enemy scattering in the opposite direction to that from which we had come, and so our baggage followed us without fear of being molested. I think I am right in saying that we were never attacked during a night march. Had our enemies known we were going to make one, they would, doubtless, have ambuscaded us, but then we took every precaution to prevent their knowing. When marching by day, on the other hand, our little columns would sometimes be attacked. I say *little* columns for where you have to march in Indian file, you cannot take a large body of men, as they and the transport would quickly straggle out to an unwieldly length of some miles, and the progress would be correspondingly slow. Our columns usually ranged from 50 to 150 rifles. If the Burmans attacked a column, it was sure to be in some awkward place, and, until our troops got accustomed to being suddenly attacked, and learnt what was the best thing to do, they were frequently thrown into confusion for a time. Now the question is what is "the best thing to do" when you are suddenly fired into by foes lying hid in the dense jungle, about five yards off the path, or often less. The natural inclination is to halt, and look round to see who is hit, and then to crowd round the wounded, or killed, man to assist him, while perhaps some one gives the order for a volley to

be fired into the place whence the shots came. Then follows a dropping volley from the still hidden foe at some other part of the column, or perhaps into the men crowding round a wounded comrade, and then of course down goes some one else. To fire volleys from the path into the jungle, on the off chance of hitting some one, is useless, for the Burmans firing at you are lying down, probably, in some place which they have previously arranged. You cannot see them, while they can see you, and their guns are, in nine cases out of ten, resting on forked sticks, and are aimed so that the bullets have free passage through small openings in the jungle growth, natural or artificial, while your bullets go anywhere and everywhere, over their heads amongst bamboos, creepers and what not. The "*best thing to do*" on occasions like this, is for the men, without waiting for orders, and without pausing to fire volleys, to charge, of their own accord, straight into the jungle on both sides of the path, thus leaving the open path and placing themselves more on a footing, as regards cover, with their hidden foes. By this means some one or other is sure to flush the enemy; possibly he gets shot, but more probably the attackers will not have had time to reload, and will fall an easy prey to the rifles or bayonets of your men. The moral effect of a prompt charge delivered home is excellent, for as soon as a foe, whose tactics are potting at you at close quarters, finds out that he will most certainly be rushed, and not be allowed decent time in which to bolt, he will abandon those tactics for good. Of course, according to the field exercises, one ought to have had advance guards and flankers out, when marching through the jungle, but it was rarely possible to do this; the jungle was too thick, and flankers who went two or three yards into the jungle, would be lost sight of, and would wander away from the path, and run a very good chance of being captured and crucified; for, being unable to see the general direction of the path, they would be apt to wander away further and further from it. As a rule the only advance guard we could have, consisted of a few men marching on the path, some forty yards ahead of the column, in Indian file. In guerilla warfare it is a very serious thing to allow the enemy the triumph of getting even one head, or a prisoner, as it elates them to such an extent as to encourage them to prolong their resistance to our arms. This fact makes one chary of placing one's soldiers in such isolated positions as flankers, and thus giving the enemy an opportunity of either capturing them or taking their heads. In ordinary warfare with civilised nations the loss of a few flankers is thought nothing of; but it must, if possible, be avoided in campaigns such as the Burman or Chin-Lushai.

There was another thing that unhinged the nerves of the Burmans, and undermined their self-confidence, and that was the plan pursued by General Lockhart of making four or five columns start from various directions, and converge upon some well known encampment or stronghold. The Burmans did not like this, and thought it was not playing the game at all. The result of having more columns than one advancing from different directions on the same objective was that the Burmans, in attempting to escape one of the columns, probably ran into one of the others, and were subjected to much the same sensation as a shuttlecock would experience, if it could feel, when knocked about between two battledores. They soon got nervous, from not knowing in what direction they might be attacked, and the large bands broke up, and never regained their importance or power to do mischief. Columns taking part in these cold weather operations had of course to remain out for many days, and travel as light as possible. This they were enabled to do by drawing fresh ration supplies from one or other of the supplementary bases previously referred to. It soon became manifest that, when disciplined and well armed troops adopt the guerilla tactics of the foe with whom they have to deal, the latter cannot stand against them. But these tactics must be adopted vigorously, and General Lockhart's movements were continuous and untiring in energy, and not spasmodic efforts, indulged in now and again, with intervals of idleness; they were like the "continual dropping on a rainy day."

There were also sundry little *dodges* to which he used to have recourse. For instance, if he found that his own column came on to a path along which he knew another column was advancing behind him, he would strew torn bits of paper along the path, to show which way he had gone, and leave any orders, or information, on a bit of paper pinned on to the reverse side of a tree, "blazing" some of the jungle to let the commander of the rear column know that there was a note for him in the immediate vicinity of the "blaze." I think I am correct in saying that none of these notes were ever missed. Of course they were not visible from the path itself, otherwise any Burman passing by would undoubtedly have seen them and torn them up; but we knew where to look for the General's notes. Another "dodge" was practised when we unfortunately got to a village, or encampment, too late, and found our birds flown. An empty hut would be selected for an ambuscade; as we knew we were being watched from the jungle, parties of men were sent apparently to rummage every hut; the Burmans could not tell exactly how many men went into each hut, and how many came out again, and so, by degrees, the men detailed for the ambuscade would collect in the

selected hut. The column would then march off, and the party in the hut would remain as quiet as possible In a little time the Burmans, thinking we had all gone, would return from the jungles, and would be suddenly fired into by the ambuscade. The Burmans were also given to following a column on its leaving a village, and firing on the rear guard. To prevent this, General Lockhart used, during a halt, when the men had broken off, to send a party into the jungle with orders to remain behind as an ambuscade. To do this without letting our watching foes suspect what was up, men were told to stroll into the jungle as if for the purposes of nature; all would stroll back apparently, but the men for the ambuscade would remain, quietly dropping into their places by each other without a sound. Then the column would fall in and march on as before, and soon the Burmans would steal out to see whether they could pick up anything we might have dropped, and our ambuscade would come into play.

I think this Upper Burmah campaign is one of the best examples we have had of guerilla warfare in the plains, and from a study of it we may learn many instructive lessons as to how to employ such an enemy's tactics against himself, adapting them to our own troops, so as effectually to disperse and subdue the enemy.

Of the special rôle played by Infantry, Mounted Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, I have no space to give a detailed account. Suffice it to say that Mounted Infantry are indispensable for guerilla warfare in the plains, and that Cavalry were used whenever it was possible to use them, and frequently when it appeared impossible. Major Elliott's Bombay Lancers simply stuck at nothing, and it was a wonderful sight to see them charge headlong into jungles so thick that infantry could get through only with difficulty. Of course, the men would sometimes be swept out of their saddles by boughs of trees, huge creepers, &c., but they would pick themselves up, and scramble into them again and follow their comrades somehow. It was rarely that they came back without killing some of the Burmans, and the way the latter dreaded these daredevil lancers was refreshing.

I now come to the second part of my subject.

*Guerilla Warfare in the Hills, as illustrated by the Chin-Lushai Expedition of* 1888-90.

In dealing with the plainsmen of Burma, we had to do with a race renowned for their cruelty and cowardice; but in the hills, which form the western boundary of Burma, we had to deal with foes who were cruel, but plucky. They carried on war with us much on the same lines that the plainsmen did,

but although the methods of dealing with "guerilla foes" in both plains and hills are practically the same, yet the difficulty of carrying out these tactics in the hills is enormously enhanced by the physical features of the country in which the operations take place. What would be short marches in the plains are exceedingly long ones in the hills; the question of transport is more difficult to solve; night marching is far less easily accomplished and is attended with considerable risk to life and limb; water is frequently hard to find; marching at any time, night or day, is arduous and exhausting, and altogether the work in a hill campaign is about as severe as can well be imagined.

The first point that is taken into consideration when a campaign of this sort is about to be undertaken, is the time of year at which troops can be moved to the scene of operations without subjecting them to the malarious exhalations of the low-lying country at the foot of the hills. This low-lying country is usually a belt of forest, commonly called in India a Terai, and to linger in this at the wrong time of the year results in a large number of troops being invalided before they set foot in the hills. It is well known that the force under General Symons started too soon, and came in for too big a dose of Terai malaria. This was not the fault of our Military authorities, but of Jupiter Pluvius, who made his "continual dropping on rainy days" extend over an unusually long period in 1889.

Now we will suppose the troops to have reached the foot of the hills. The next thing to be done is to get them up, and establish posts along your line of communications, and ensure a regular supply of rations, &c. As no roads existed in the Chin Hills, this could be done gradually only, for large supplies can be carried only on mules, and mules require a road of some sort. The work of making roads in the hills is arduous; but the mistake should be avoided of trying to make a big broad road all at once. Don't go in for making a road "wide enough for two to ride abreast, or along which you can drive a tonga," for nobody wants to ride abreast with any one, and you have not got any tongas to drive. The main point is to *get to your objective as quickly as possible*, establishing intermediate posts as you go along. It is well to bear this in mind and be content, as General Symons was, with a road good enough for mules to hurry up supplies. When once your road is made up as far as your objective, then, if you like, widen it sufficiently for any lunatic who wants to ride two abreast, or likes to waste his money by buying a tonga to drive along it. On entering the Chin hills, our troops found, of course, no ready-made roads,—only narrow Chin paths, generally leading straight

up to the top of a hill, and then down again on the opposite side. The idea of zig-zagging a path, or leading it at a moderate gradient up to the top of a hill, never seems to occur to the Chins, and the sides of the hills are so tremendously steep, and the thick jungles which clothe them are so thick, that to leave the path, and try to work through the jungles is a folly, the depth of which I have personally probed, and which I now consider is inexcusable in any sane man who wears boots, and whose spare garments are curtailed to the narrow limits of a field service kit. The hills encountered are not mounds like Snowdon or Plynlimmon, but real stiff mountains, and to climb a Chin path on a hot day is, to most men, as difficult as it is for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. The climb must be taken slowly and deliberately, and if you want to keep your men from tailing off, and getting knocked up, you must give them plenty of halts, and always let them know how long the halt will last, so that those who want to fall out may do so. This I found was rarely done, and is a greater boon than might at first sight appear. Also let your halt count from the time the tail of the column comes up. How often have I seen a halt made just long enough to allow the last man to arrive, and then a fresh start made without giving them time to halt at all. It is your men who help you to win you your C. B. or Brevet, and it is wise policy to consider their comforts as much as possible.

Another rule I carried out was to have a halt when the top of a hill was reached, as there is always a cool refreshing breeze blowing at the top, which sets up a tired and heated man. But I have seen an officer commanding a column, on arriving at the top of a hill go gaily on at a pace which forces the exhausted tail of his column, when it also reaches the top, to well nigh break into a run in order to catch up the others. It is well to warn the men, when you halt at the top of a hill, not to unbutton their jackets, for, if they do, the cold air, blowing on their shirts saturated with perspiration, will probably give them pneumonia.

On approaching the foot of an ascent, I used to make the guide tell me when we came to the last water supply we were likely to meet, and then halt there, and make the men fill their water bottles, at the same time warning them that they would find no more water for so many miles. Then, after the back of the march was broken, I would give a long halt for three quarters of an hour or more, according to circumstances, to let the men have leisure to eat the food in their havresacks. All these halts serve two purposes, one to minimise the number of those who fall out, and so keep the men together ; the other to allow the baggage to come up When you are not marching

be content with scrambling a few yards down the hill and then returning. I know that when one has toiled for hours up a steep hill, one feels very much disinclined to rush down a steep slope for any great distance, where it is next to impossible for any one, except a Chin, to keep his feet, because it means a fearful climb back again; and yet, if a charge is to be of any use, the men must simply fling themselves heart and soul into it, trusting to luck not to break their necks, and pursue till they drive the Chins out into some fairly open place (which generally exists) where they can be seen. Independent firing should then be employed by all who can view the enemy; volleys are out of the question, as in such a charge no sort of formation or order can be retained. If these charges were vigorously carried out, I am confident the Chin's taunt, that we cannot fight then in the jungles, would soon be disposed of. To stand on the path and fire volleys down the hill-side, when you can see no enemy, is pure waste of ammunition; the bullets are stopped by innumerable trees and creepers, and one minute's law to a Chin, after he has fired, means that he has ensured his escape.

Sometimes the Chins will fire from above the path; they usually do that when the column is just arriving at the top of a hill and the attacking partly is able to bolt down the reverse side of the hill; when a column is leaving a village, also, the Chins will often fire from above the path as it descends the hill. This desultory firing, and harrassing kind of fighting is kept up often for miles, and the Chins will frequently follow a column till it gets into camp, and then, ceasing their fire for a while, they will suddenly re-open it at a couple of hundred yards range or closer, from some unexpected quarter, never once showing themselves. They will sometimes continue firing the greater part of the night. On such occasions watch or cooking fires are always fired at, if they are lighted in at all exposed positions.

Of course a liberal supply of piquets and sentries in advantageous positions will prevent the camp being rushed; but, to show the audacity and pluck of the Chin I will mention one or two incidents that occurred at Fort White. The Fort is simply a very large collection of huts and lines enclosed by an abattis; no earthworks of any sort exist; but there are block houses for piquets in certain positions. One night some Chins crept in between the piquets, pushed through the abattis, walked into the camp, and cut off the head of a mule driver who was asleep; they then, out of bravado, fired into his body, setting fire to his clothes and—made good their escape. Another night they crept in and walked off with a mule, while, on a third occasion, they carried off some of the Commissariat cattle, which we

have never recovered to this day. This will give some idea of the venturesomeness and cool daring of these mountaineers. Of course, when they commence firing at 200 yards into a camp a charge is out of the question, and it is useless to fire back with small arms. A party is usually sent out to work through the jungle on their flank. On such occasions a couple of Mountain Battery guns are invaluable; a few shells from them will soon clear out the Chins, for a shell "*searches*" a jungle more effectually than a volley from small arms. I have often heard a Mountain Battery laughed at, and the effect of its fire described as purely moral. I differ from this opinion, and hold that we should have our Mountain Batteries well up to the front, and what is more, *use them*. When the column under Major Edge marched through the Kanhow country, it was, I believe, fired at all day long, and frequently from a distance above the path, when Major Edge had not time to stop and clear the jungles and heights; and I think it was on this occasion that the Chins took to rolling big rocks down on to the column. A Mountain Battery would soon have put a stop to the harrassing fire and rock-rolling by shelling the jungle where the Chins lay concealed. Again, to rush a stockade, or an entrenched position, such as we found at Tashon Ywama, could not have been done without great loss, while the two guns which General Symons had brought with him, would have been invaluable, had the Chins held the position.

A good deal of the work in the Chin hills consisted in the attacking and burning of villages, or, later on, of encampments built on sites where we had burnt villages months before. Now, every village, or encampment, keeps a look-out man posted on the path, at a distance of, perhaps, two miles from the village. These look out sentries on seeing our column, or hearing the tramp of our men's boots, rush off and give warning to the villagers, and then you have a good taste of stockade or jungle fighting before you get to the village. On arriving there, you probably find it in flames, set on fire by the villagers themselves (why, I do not, know), and you get peppered during your stay there from all sides, but never see a Chin. As you are engaged in guerilla warfare it does not do to content yourself with returning and saying you have burnt the village. You must hunt up the grain stores, and so inflict a permanent and severe injury on the villagers. You must destroy the stockades and block houses, and hunt in the jungles for isolated houses which are still unburnt, and destroy them. The grain stores are usually to be found concealed in the jungle, in a nullah where the villagers have their principal water-supply; sometimes the grain is hidden in the ground;

hollow trees have been found to contain household utensils, guns, and bows and arrows, and isolated houses have sometimes been found to contain large stores of grain. Now these attacks on villages and encampments have often been what I call spasmodic. One column goes out alone and destroys what it can, and then returns. To be really effective, and to drive such foes as the Chins further and further off in despair, and give them no rest, General Lockhart's tactics in Burma should be adopted, and carried on continuously. Two or more columns should advance by different routes on the same objective, *and should remain there for a few days*, hunting the jungles for stray bands, lying in ambush near the best water supplies, where the scattered villagers are likely to come for water, and, on leaving the village, they should drop parties quite quietly during a short halt, who should be concealed in the jungles, ready to drop on any party of Chins pursuing the column. Better still, parties should be sent out before dawn, to occupy such places as are likely to be selected by the Chins from which to ambuscade the retiring columns. All these little "dodges" would dishearten the enemy, for nothing is more galling to such foes than to make for a favorite ambush, and find themselves forestalled and greeted by a volley or two. It makes them doubtful as to whether their next favorite ambush is not also occupied, and if they do go there, they will perhaps have to make a long detour. In such cases they will more probably take to attacking the rear guard, and then, of course, they will fall into the hands of the parties you drop in ambush as you retire. I do not think these tactics ever had a fair and persistent trial in the Chin-Lushai campaign.

I have said that the Chins taunt us with not being able to fight in their hilly jungles. They also jeer at us on the ground that we cannot march by night. If night marches are difficult in the plains, they are infinitely more so in the hills. The path is sometimes difficult to follow by day; and at night it is almost impossible, without a very good guide indeed. Moreover, the paths have often dangerous precipices, or good imitations of them, on one side, and are unpleasant walking at the best of times. Still I am convinced that night marches can be undertaken successfully. A careful reconnaissance should be made beforehand as far as possible along the path, without going so near as to alarm the look-out sentries, and the officers who make the reconnaissance, should either command the party when it does the night march, or should accompany it. The only troops that can be used are Goorkhas or Pathans, born hill men of great experience, and unquestionable pluck and coolness, who are well able to march over stony or thorny paths *without boots*; for to stumble along over such

paths in the dark *in boots*, is productive of tumbles, sprained ankles and much noise, which last it is essentially necessary to avoid. Officers should wear shikar boots shod with felt or twine soles. Of course, no baggage can be taken. Two small columns, of say 50 rifles each, should start for the same objective, by different routes, wearing no boots, and in any costume they like to adopt, except white. Forty rounds per man will be sufficient, and they should take one day's rations in their havresacks, and march with what speed they may. Their rations for such time as they are intended to be out, and their bedding, &c., &c., can follow in the morning on coolies with a small escort. The Chins will be too much flustered and occupied with the columns to molest the baggage.

The columns that do the night march should be halted as soon as they are within, say, a quarter of a mile of the village. They can get thus far without alarming the villagers, because the Chins do not keep a look-out at night. If there is ample time to spare, the troops can be allowed to sleep till the first streak of dawn, but must not disperse. The Chin is not, I have noticed, a very early riser, and in the cold weather he prefers to wait until the sun warms up a bit before he takes his walks abroad. At early dawn, then, the two parties should extend according to the nature of the ground, creeping up as silently as possible under cover. When sufficiently near for a rush the men should halt of their own accord. A volley will bring the inhabitants rushing out of their huts, and they should then be subjected to independent firing. All this may sound blood-thirsty, but, in every campaign, the sharper the first lessons inflicted, the sooner will the desired end be attained ; and by a stitch in time you will save, at any rate, nine, if not more. In commencing a campaign against uncivilised foes, who are, by nature, lawless and cruel, we should try to realise the truth that leniency is interpreted by them to mean weakness and fear, and it is a false policy that starts with giving our foes such mistaken notions about us. Such a policy only protracts the campaign unduly, and causes a prolongation of suffering on both sides, and, as in Burma, entails a greater loss of life from sickness and wounds, than would otherwise have occurred. If we are going to strike let us strike quickly, and not push and argue like two school boys who are afraid to come to blows.

To return to our village. When the independent firing commences, care must be taken not to hurt the women ; but, if possible, they should be captured. It is mainly the women who have urged the Chins to prolong their resistance, and, had we only been able to capture a batch of women, we should soon have brought the men to agree to any terms we liked to impose. When the independent firing has lasted a few minutes, the

bugle should sound the charge, and the troops should rush forward and take the village. Many guns, much ammunition, and, in fact, everything the village possessed would probably fall into our hands, and the moral effect on neighbouring villages and tribes would be profound. I am certain that a successful attach, such as I have described, could be made by means of a night march, and by no other means. The troops should remain on the spot for a few days, living on the rations brought up that day by the coolies who marched in the morning, as I suggested. During their stay, the troops should make excursions all round, in every direction, every day, so as to drive the scattered villagers away into some other valley. While a night march such as this is taking place in one direction, others should be undertaken simultaneously in other directions. This prevents villages and tribes from affording mutual support to each other. Night marches, however, should take place on moonlight nights only, unless the path is exceptionally good and too well known to miss.

Telegraph wire cutting is a prolific source of amusement to Chins and Burmans, and of annoyance to us, and it is very hard to stop. Patrolling the wire is of very little use, and is very harassing to the garrisons of small posts, who are already worked off their legs with convoy and escort duty. Wire is somtimes cut in the daytime, but more usually by night, and it is ten chances to one against the patrols catching sight of the delinquents. You can hear the brackets being broken with long poles for some distance on a still night, but it is very hard to come up with the wire cutters, though it has been done occasionally. Now the plan I am about to propose will, I doubt not, be laughed at and ridiculed by some; but so was the man who was first audacious enough to declare the world to be round. So I will risk raising a laugh; it is at any rate preferable to causing a tear. When one considers the cost of continually replacing miles and miles of stolen telegraph wire,* and weighs the immense advantage gained by having such a means of communication intact, is it not worth while, at the first start, to go at once to the expense of having apparatus at the base of operations sufficiently powerful to send a current of electricity strong enough to knock a man down who touches the wire? It could be turned on to full power during the night and no patrols would be necessary. In fact I believe that the Chins, who are exceedingly afraid of demons, fairies, &c., would have fled the country long ago, had they experienced a good

* About twenty-seven miles of telegraph wire were carried away between Kalemyo and Fort White before the end of March 1890.

stunning shock when they first began wire cutting. I am no electrician, but the telegraph officer in charge of one of the lines in the Chin hills assures me, that there is no great difficulty in sending such a current, and I understand the apparatus could be easily worked by the immense water power available at Kan and Lalemyo. Whether it is worth while to spend money at the outset on such apparatus, or whether it comes cheaper to continually replace miles and miles of telegraph wire, overwork our soldiers by ceaseless patrolling, and provide the Chins with materials for bullets,* is a matter for our chief military and telegraph authorities to decide.†

As regards transport for a campaign of hill guerilla warfare, until roads are made suitable for mules (or tongas!) we have only Hobson's choice. Coolies, and coolies only, can carry baggage and rations over paths such as one has to traverse in the Chin hills. Of course one occasionally comes across an easy bit of country, where mules could be employed on the existing paths, but to get to these, and after you have passed them, you must pass over country where mules could not possibly go The best coolies are undoubtedly Tonkals, Nagas, Kossias and Kukis. They are cheerful and willing, and carry 70 lbs. easily, and, moreover, they do not seem to mind being shot at. It is true they object to rocks being rolled down on them from a height, and a cooly was once observed, on such an occasion, shinning up a tree, load and all.

As for the kind of troops that should be employed for guerilla warfare in the hills, I unhesitatingly say that it is a useless expense to employ British regiments. Those we had were splendid fellows, but it was not their work. They are not capable of marching by night *without boots*, and they are not, *as a body*, men born and trained to hill fighting, as Goorkhas and Pathans are. When a man goes fishing, he selects his flies according to the fish he wants to catch, coupled with other weighty piscatorial considerations. Because he does not use some particular fly, you are not justified in saying that for the fly he does select he shows a bigoted preference which is insulting to the remaining contents of his fly book. In the same way it must not be supposed that I wish to insult my fellow-countrymen. I object to using a finely tempered sword to do the work of a hatchet. I admire Thomas Atkins, and no better man exists to have beside you in a row than a British soldier, be he English, Irish, Scotch or Welsh; but it goes against my grain to see him rotting away with fever and dysentery, all anxiety for a good fight which can never

* Quantities of telegraph wire have been found partially melted in Chin villages, and the Chins say they use it for making bullets.

† [We fear the writer's suggestion is quite impracticable.—ED. *C. R.*]

come, and willing to a degree to undergo hardships. In fighting against foes like Chins he is thrown away; it is not his rôle. Individuals are, no doubt, found in the ranks who develop the traits of a born mountain fighter, but we want more than individuals. we want *a body of men* who have been born and bred on the hillside, and have carried their lives in their hands from boyhood, raiding villages and being raided, able to creep on their stomachs, to surprise foes, and capable of running bare foot up and down impossible places. The British soldier, hampered as he is by his clothes, and unaccustomed to decent sized mountains, cannot be expected to turn himself into a goat, and run after Chins like a Goorkha or Pathan, who can be sent (as they well can) under a native officer, or even favorite non-commissioned officer, to raid a village by night bare-footed. Goorkhas and Pathans are the best and cheapest troops for such warfare, and their hardiness, pluck, and coolness are beyond comment. For garrisoning posts, Native Infantry (Plains regiments) should be employed, as also for convoy duty. As I said before, Mountain Batteries should form part of the force and be well up to the front.

As regards arms, I prefer the Snider to the Martini, simply because a loaded Snider at half-cock can be more safely carried than a loaded Martini In a rush down a jungly hillside you should have your rifle ready loaded, for you will generally get only a momentary chance of a snap shot, when no time can be spared for fumbling for a cartridge. For officers a sword is a useless encumbrance, and should be exchanged for a good kookery, the usefulness of which is too well known to need any explanation. In addition to the kookery, a good revolver is necessary. Amongst other accoutrements a water bottle is indispensable; the man without a water bottle is to be avoided. To escape death from thirst, which always attacks one fiercely in these hills, he is obliged to sponge on a brother officer for water, which the latter cannot afford. As one is obliged sometimes to sleep out in drenching rain, with no shelter, a waterproof sheet should form part of every one's kit; by tying it on to poles you get a fairly dry night's rest, when without it you would be soaked with rain. Let it be a large one.

I should like to add a word about reporting the results of a fight. If you do not see actual corpses, you have no grounds whatever for doing what was done in one or two cases during the Chin-Lushai expedition, *viz.*, reporting that "it is estimated that 20 of the enemy were killed," or that, "the enemy must have suffered considerably." Why *must* they? Because you idiotically fired a large number of rounds into thick jungle, where you could see no one, it by no means follows that you

killed, or even hit, a single Chin. These reports are seriously misleading. To show how misleading they are, I will mention that a report of this sort was made, and the impression was conveyed to outsiders, and still worse, to General Symons, that a really substantial defeat had been inflicted on the Chins which would be a useful lesson to them, and that they had suffered such a severe loss that no further visitation upon that part would be necessary. Now what was the real state of the case, as very soon leaked out? It was this, that the *pseudo* victorious force had been driven out of the place they had attacked, by the Chins; and had, in their hurry to get away, actually left two of their dead upon the ground, whose heads the Chins cut off and sent round to show as trophies. The force, instead of burning the village, as they reported they had done, had only found time to burn twelve out of thirty-six houses. To a Chin a head is a head, no matter how it is got, and these heads were worth boasting about, because they were the heads of men better armed than themselves, whom they had slain in fair fight when attacked. Disastrous "daurs" like this go far to cripple the Political Officer's hands, and prolong the campaign, for savages like the Chins become so elated by one victory, that it strengthens their determination to hold out, and induces them to hope that, as they have been once victorious so they may be again. A second column had to be sent out to give these villagers a real lesson, and undo the harm done by the first column, and it was weeks before the heads were recovered and buried. The second column saw for themselves how little had been done by the first column, and the disgrace of having left their dead on the ground will cling to that particular regiment for years to come. And yet it was reported a great success! Report exactly what did happen, and then a General and his Political Officers will know exactly what use they can make of the results of a fight, in bringing greater or less pressure to bear on the other tribes.

M.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

# ART. II.—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HINDUISM.* †

## *IV.—Conclusion.*

"INDIA is all past, and, I may almost say, has no future," says Professor Seeley, and the same remark, in the same or in similar words, had been made by a host of his predecessors, who, observing the high stage of civilization to which India had once reached, and the stagnation of the present day, thought the remark appropriate, and the prophecy justifiable.

It is interesting to observe the various phases through which the minds of educated Indians have passed even in the matter of this remark. The earliest stage was to take the result of the European thought, even though not strictly scientific, on trust. The high authority of the Professor and of his predecessors was sufficient to secure its unquestioning acceptance—and it led, however temporarily, to a demoralizing quietism, bred of that philosophy of *Kismut*, from which, consciously or unconsciously, even the intelligent and educated amongst us cannot always free themselves. It led intelligent and educated men to despise the present and the future, and simply, not to live in the past, but to talk of India of the past, and her glories of the past, and see nothing in the progress of the world during the last thousand years or so. With minds which ranked above the philosophy of *Kismut*, and which could not ignore the phenomena of progress around them, it became the fashion to affect a sort of cosmopolitanism, which, however, is no better than cynicism *minus* its essential virtues so far as one's own country is concerned, and the result was, none the less, demoralizing quietism. But it is hardly possible that, surrounded as they are with the signs of progress, the Indians should quietly accept the destiny foreshadowed for them in the remark quoted above. The reaction came, and Indians thought that, if that was their inevitable destiny—only a dead past, however glorious a chapter in the history of mankind, and no future—it were well if India were at the bottom of the Indian Ocean. Who will say that the impious thought involved in the

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* Continued from No. CLXXXI, for July 1890, page 80.

† *Vide* Expansion of England, p. 176.

re-actionary stage, has not a more manly tone about it, than the belief in *Kismut* and consequent inaction. Out of the discontent which it clearly indicated, educated and intelligent Indians have come to question the soundness of Professor Seeley's remarks, and, happily, to ask themselves, why the Indians of to-day, inheritors as they are of a unique civilization of the past, and in actual contact, as they are, with the materialistic civilization of the present, should not be able to make for themselves a grand future. If, they argue, it is now said of India, that it is all past, and has no future, was it not once said of Italy :—"L'Italie n'est qu'une expression Geographique," and believed, even by such a celebrated diplomatist as Metternich, that every spark of vitality had fled from her.

It is the fashion to speak of a Greek civilization, a Roman civilization ; to speak of them as dead and gone, and to compare them with the living civilization of present Europe, as if the world's progress from the earliest times to the present were not one continuous whole, but marked off with full stops at the different periods indicated. Prejudices are often retained in words, in mode of treatment of a subject, and thus imperceptibly, in thought, even after a contrary truth has been fully recognized ; and though history amply illustrates and proves the fact that the present European civilization, that is, the progress of mankind of the nineteenth century, was evolved out of Greek, Roman, nay Indian civilizations of the earlier ages of mankind, it is the rule to speak of the one as dead, and the other as a living entity by itself, disjointed from, and unconnected with, the past. Yet, while, in our prejudice, we speak of Greece, Rome and India as all past and dead, what was once beautiful and good in them survives in the countries in which it took its birth, however dimmed and obscured by evil agencies, and lives as a mighty force in the countries of its adoption. There is one eternal cause, great and beneficent, towards which tend, irresistibly, all human movements, during successive ages. "Nothing beautiful and good perishes in the world ; neither liberty, poetry, virtue, nor justice. And when a passing cloud ever and anon renders them invisible to the human eye, when they are momentarily eclipsed, and faithless mortals are thus encouraged in the belief that they have perished, they soon after are beheld again, rekindled and bright, as if they were as immortal as the human souls which they ennoble."

Is it true, then, that "India is all past, and has no future," while the true, the good, the beautiful in her yet live, and while hundreds of thousands of her sons, whose number will soon grow into millions, see only in the past a grand and glorious vision, which, aided and strengthened by the light of the present, will, they sanguinely hope and trust, lead them to a grand future?

These aspirations, this longing after progress, is a living and veritable force, which has to be taken into account when we take upon ourselves to predict that she has no future. Evil agencies, the efforts of all the evil passions, if the present aspirations last, will be but infinitesimal obstacles, which will soon be drowned in the great progressive streams. Already these aspirations are at work.

We have amongst us, at the present day, (1) the Hindu Revivalists ; (2) the Hindu iconoclast occidentalists ; (3) the Provincialists ; (4) the Mahomedan Nationalists ; the European and Eurasian Defence Associationists ; the Eurasian Associationists ; the Armenian Associationists ; (5) the Indian Nationalists, each and all engaged, according to their respective lights, in promoting progress in India, for separate communities. or for India as a whole. The procedure may be different in each case ; but in all it tends in the same direction. There may be at the present date *apparent* conflict of interests, or even selfishness, and in that selfishness an utter obliviousness, nay obstruction, of the progress of India as a whole ; but who will deny that, in trying to improve the parts, one and all are contributing to the improvement of the whole ? The Indians of the future are destined to grow out of these differentiations, and the most profound thinker of the age somewhere beautifully says : " In the social organism, as in the individual organism, differentiations cease only with that completion of the type which marks maturity and precedes decay."

(1) The Hindu Revivalists think of reproducing the glorious *India* of the past ; but, though they are useful at the present day, not only as a progressive factor,—for there is no gainsaying the fact that, if we could reproduce the India of the Sixth century of the Christian era, the day when the nine *gems* adorned the glorious Court of Vicramaditya with poetry, science and art which even now excite the admiration of the world, it would bring India and her people nearer to the Nineteenth century than they are at present, but also as a reactionary movement to that of the Hindu iconoclast occidentalists, who will next come under review, they are soon destined to find that the ideal of the past is far below that of the Nineteenth century. Again, what part of the past are they to reproduce ? The Hindus of the day of Vicramajeet did not stand exactly where they were in the days of the Vedas, nor did the Hindus of the Puranic period stand where they were in the days of Vicramajeet.

The revivalists forget that no reproduction of the India of the past is possible unless all the conditions under which India then existed, can be restored—India living by herself alone, unconnected with the rest of the world ; her people growing

their own food in their fertile and virgin soil, enough to spare and bestow on others; her people manufacturing their own clothes in their own looms, with but few wants which they themselves could not supply—the classes above free from the Nineteenth century struggle for bread, with ample leisure to think and to produce; cowries instead of silver coins, prices cheap and wants few. What prevents our revivalists from preserving a social type which is not yet dead, though fast dying? "The Pundits who used to teach in the *toles*—টোল—never cared for the rewards of this world. They loved their work for the sake of their work. They loved their pupils as their children. No fees were ever charged, and in many cases the pupils were housed and fed by the teachers. The example of the self-sacrificing Pundits, whose care was only the welfare of their pupils, infected their household. No sacrifice was considered sacrifice by them or by theirs, when undertaken for this pious and meritorious motive. The Pundits used to have in return, the love and the veneration of their pupils, and the respect of the community they lived in. Things have now changed a good deal even in our indigenous toles, টোল, and in our English schools they are nowhere. Even the descendants of these very Pundits, though they now receive better pay than the precarious income their ancestors earned by the good will of the community in which they lived, find the department of education not at all attractive. They have forgotten the self-sacrificing spirit of their ancestors, and it is partially owing to this, that they do not enjoy the love and veneration of their pupils. Is it possible to revive the old Hindu spirit in our teachers of the day? We are afraid not. The reasons which make a revival of this sort impossible, are to be found in the social and economic changes that have come around us."

Again, the revivalists have to take account of the causes which have brought about the present degenerate condition of the Hindus. Why did not the progress achieved at the date of Vicramajeet last? What contributed to the decay of the Hindus? The answer is short; there was no Indian nation at the date of Vicramajeet, or at any period of past Indian history. The causes which are now happily tending to the growth of an Indian nation were then non-existent.

To the revivalists, patriots as they are, we say that they must not forget that the India of to-day, is not the country of the Hindus alone. It is as much the country of the 40 millions of Mahomedans as of the 210 millions of Hindus, and it is also the country of the Europeans, Eurasians, Armenians, Jews and Parsis, important classes, though few in numbers. The foreign element was not wanting in the India of the past; but the genius of

our ancestors, by fictions which they alone knew how to invent, to suit all occasions, had been receiving within their systems the Greeks, the Bactrians, and, lastly, even after the time of Vicramajeet, and only 200 or 300 years before the invasion of Mahmad of Ghor, foreigners from the West, giving them the proud position of the Rajputs of the present day. If, with the revival of ancient Hindu glory, our revivalists could, as our ancestors did of old, incorporate with our system the various foreign elements, Musalmans, Christians, Jews and Parsis, they would, no doubt, find themselves at one with the Indian nationalists; but as the days of fictions have almost passed; they will have to take a new departure, and evolve out of the past, a future unfettered by the traditionary usages and practices of the dead past, a future suited to the genius of their race, in consonance with the usages and practices of others with whom they are now in contact. When that departure shall have been made, which we hope it soon will be, then but little distinction will remain between them and the Indian Nationalists.

(2). The usefulness of the class whom we have designated Hindu iconoclast occidentalists—we mean no disrespect in applying the term to a body of earnest workers for whom we have profound esteem—has been very great, and their aim has always been progress in every direction, and progress for India as a whole. They were the earliest, and we may say the first natural product of the contact of India with the material civilization of the West; but the early zeal with which they proceeded to break up everything existent in this country, and to substitute in its stead, without much discrimination, imitations of the West, soon excited a repulsion of feeling in their own countrymen, and the reaction of the revivalists showed that their procedure was wrong, and that their usefulness would be ephemeral. Their diminished number proves that this prognostication was not unjust, and, as things are now more correctly understood than they were only a few years ago, they are already amalgamating, almost as a class, with the Indian Nationalists, with whom they have always agreed in their aims.

(3). It was but natural that people, before they could think of India as a whole, should begin to think of its individual parts—the Bengalis of Bengal, the Mahrattas of Maharastra, and the Madrasis of Madras. There would thus spring up a certain amount of provincial jealousy, and this has been made much of, so long as it served the purpose of those who preach, as sound policy, the disintegration of India into parts. Happily, so far as the Hindus are concerned, the days of provincial jealousy have vanished before the bright vision of an Indian nationality; and any endeavour to revive it must meet with an ignominious failure. The Bengali is now a brother to the Mahratta, the Punjabi

to the Madrasi; and, while each is doing his best to advance with his immediate environment, and to look to the interests of his own province, the interests of the province have already come to be regarded as subordinate to those of India as a whole.

There has not been a greater change in anything else, perhaps, than in this. Five years ago, before the national aspirations had yet been properly defined, when Mr. Cotton, in his admirable work, "New India," following in the wake of Mr. Bright, suggested provincial autonomy, with Hindu predominance in some parts, and Mahomedan in others, and separate and distinct settlements for Europeans and others bearing European names, all federated together under a central Government, the scheme met with universal applause amongst the educated Hindus in all parts of India. But the scheme no longer satisfies the popular and national aspirations. We may show, hereafter, why this is so. At present we bring forward this to show how provincialism, in the narrowest sense, has died out.

(4). The Mahomedan Nationalists, and the rest, in so far as they are trying to better the condition of their respective classes, are working for the common good of India; for, as we have said, the advancement of all the parts means the advancement of the whole. They work in this matter on the same lines as those who work for India as a whole, with a sanguine hope of a grand future. But it is urged that there is a conflict of interests, and some individuals of these communities argue, that, with due regard to the interests of their respective classes, they are bound to obstruct measures calculated to promote the common good of India. These latter among the Mahomedans speak of a "Mahomadan Nation," and we therefore designate them Mahomedan Nationalists. The two points we propose to examine in this connection are, (1) whether there is any real conflict of interests; (2), whether there is "a Mahomedan Nation" in India.

Of the 33 millions of Mahomedans in British India, there are 19 millions or thereabouts in Bengal, about 10 millions in Behar, the United Provinces and the Punjab, and about 4 millions in all the rest of India. The two principal centres therefore are, (1) Bengal, (2) the United Provinces, Behar and the Punjab. It will be found that the condition of the Mahomedans differs essentially in these two centres. Of the 19 millions of Mahomedans in Bengal, not more than 25,000 belong to what is known in Bengal as the Bhadralog class. The remainder are agriculturists, day labourers, and petty artizans tailors and domestic servants. These were originally Hindus of the *Jal Achal* class, who were converted to Mahomedanism. As a class, they are the most prosperous tenantry in India, and their condition, instead of deteriorating, as that of Mahomedans

throughout India is ordinarily supposed to be, is daily improving. They were never anything more than agriculturists, and at no period of their history either Government servants, Government soldiers, or zemindars, much less conquerors of India, or even followers of the Mahomedan conquerors. They are born of the country, speak the Bengali language, write the Bengali character, dress like Bengalis, eat almost the same food as Bengalis, and, except as to matters of religion, resemble in all respects any other Bengali ryot. They are not the men who are said to be animated by traditionary pride of race, as conquerors, in relation to the Bengali-Hindus. Most of them are the tenants of Bengali-Hindu zemindars, and the neighbours and friends of Bengali-Hindu ryots. *Dada*, *chacha*, *mama* are the endearing terms of relationship the Hindu and Musalman-Bengali ryots employ in addressing each other. Even in matters of religion the *Ram* of the one is the *Rahim* of the other, and one of the most popular religious versifiers on the attributes of the Hindu goddess *Kali*, was a Mahomedan whose songs are sung by peasants of all classes. The few Mahomedan shrines in Bengal are always visited by Hindus with offerings, and on the occasion of any undertaking, especially a boat journey, the *Ghazi shirni* (one pice worth of sweets) is always, as a rule, offered by ryots, Hindus and Mahomedans alike, to the Ghazi (Mahomedan saint). The boatmen, Hindu and Mahomedan, on entering or crossing a river, shout "পাঁচ পীর বদোর বদোর" "Panch Pir Bodour Bodour."*

Bengal has never known a Mohurrum outbreak. There is not, indeed, much Mohurrum except in the large towns of Calcutta, Dacca and Murshidabad. Most of the converts are Sunnis; but beyond the Kalma, their knowledge of Mahomedan theology is *nil*. Only once in the history of their quiet life was there a fanatical outbreak—the Ferazi revival, shortly before the Mutiny; but those who care to read the proceedings of a celebrated trial at Faridpur, in which Dudu Mia, the Ferazi leader and his followers, were charged with larceny and rioting attended with culpable homicide, &c., will find that the outbreak originated in the oppression of the Mahomedan tenantry by certain zemindars and European Indigo planters—the earliest agrarian disturbance in Bengal, though it subsequently found vent in a fanatical zeal on the part of Musalmans against Kafirs of all classes. Since then the Mollahs have been going about, but they have not yet succeeded in instructing their disciples beyond the most rudimentary points of the faith, and certainly have not been able to infect the general body of the Mahomedan peasantry with their fanatical zeal.

* Invocations to the Mahomedan saint Bodour-ul Alim.

We thus see that 18,975,000 of the Mahomedans, out of 19 millions, *(i.e)* 99.9 per cent. of that body, instead of deteriorating. are improving day by day as prosperous agriculturists. The schools are open to them as to others; but it is doubtful whether any of them would choose to substitute the pen for the plough, or whether, if they were to choose, they would gain by entering the lists with the Bhadralog (Mahomedans and Hindus) for petty clerkships and Mohurirships in our courts and offices. Their natural leaders, as we have said, are their zemindars and educated men in their neighbourhood, in 99 cases Hindus, to whom they resort for advice and assistance in all difficult matters.

The next question is whether the remaining 25,000 thousand have deteriorated, and whether they are comparatively more backward than the Hindus. A comparison is made between 25 millions of Hindus in Bengal and 19 millions of Musalmans; our Civil Lists and University Calendars are ransacked for the purpose, and when by such a comparison it is found that the Musalman percentage is small, it is concluded that there is deterioration and backwardness. But to view the subject in this way is to start with a false premise. The comparison should really be made between 25,000 Musulmans and 5 million Hindu Bhadralog, and the result of such a comparison will show that, neither as regards offices, nor as regards University degrees, is there any backwardness whatever on the part of the Bengali Musulmans of the Bhadralog class.

Let us now examine the case of the Mahomedans of Behar, the United Provinces and the Punjab The upper stratum is, no doubt, larger than in Bengal, but not in any way equal to the Bhadralog class of the Hindus. For instance, in Behar the upper stratum of Hindu society, comprising the castes of Brahmins, Rajputs, Babhans, Khettris and Kayesthas, includes a population of upwards of 3 millions out of 18 millions, or the entire Hindu population of the province, while the corresponding class amongst the Mahomedans does not exceed 150,000 out of 3 millions, and out of this 150,000, a very large number, comprising the entire Mahomedan population of a respectable order in an important centre, were, a few generations back, Hindus. In the United Provinces and the Punjab the case, we believe, is slightly better; but, except on occasions of fanatical outbreaks in towns, the lower stratum of the Mahomedan population follow the lead of their Hindu zemindars and other leading men amongst the Hindus, as much as they follow the lead of Mahomedans; they speak the same language as the corresponding classes amongst the Hindus, write the same character, dress alike, and share alike the ills to which the labouring classes in the Upper Provinces are subject. Riots

between neighbouring zemindars, or neighbouring villages, mostly for rights of irrigation, are very common in Behar, and Hindu and Mahomedan ryots of one village, or tenants of one zemindar, fight against the Hindu and Mohamadan ryots of another village or another zemindar. If the criminal reports are searched, not a single case of these riots will be found in which the Mahomedans fight the Hindus as Hindus. In the village economy, the capacities of different men, or different classes of men, are well understood by Hindus and Mahomedans alike. The Patwary is always a Kayestha, and never a Musulman: the Gomastha is either a Rajput or a Mahomedan. The city of Patna is one of the towns in India where the Mohurrum is celebrated with much *eclât*. We are told, by the Mahomedans themselves that, in this respect, it now ranks above all other towns, not even Lucknow excepted. If any one will watch the proceedings on the Pallam day (the last burial day of the Tazia) from the Darga in the city of Patna, he will find that more than five-sixths of the stream of people who wend their way from all sides of the town to this centre, are Hindus, calling *Hasan Hosain* and beating their breasts, and carrying the Mohurrum trophies like any ordinary Shiah. Indeed, a large proportion of the Tazias are made and taken in procession at the expense of the Hindus, and the most splendid one, which comes on at the end (Chamoondaria), belongs as much to the Hindus as to the Mahomedans of the city Chowk. These processions go on from year to year peaceably and harmoniously, unless it be for a merry fight between one *Akhra* and another, in which case it is not a fight of Hindus and Musulmans for their respective religions, but of one portion of the town against another, in honor of the greatness of their respective Tazias, or an expression of their local rivalry. We hear much of the Mohurrum outbreaks, which are occasional and rare, but we do not ordinarily hear how, from year to year, the Mohurrum peaceably passes off as a national festival of the Hindus and Mahomedans alike in most of the towns of Upper India. It is true that the lower stratum of Mahomedan society in Behar, the United Provinces and the Punjab is not so prosperous as the corresponding classes in Bengal, but even in that matter, in their one meal and the hardness of their penurious life, they are being welded with the corresponding classes of the Hindus into one mass, and few in this country understand what is meant when a distinct nationality is claimed for them along with their betters.

As for their betters, forming the upper stratum of Mahomedan society, and comprising (we choose to err on the wrong side) half a million out of ten millions, the Mahomedans, like the Hindus of the upper classes, are zemindars, Government

servants, professional men, or merchants and trades-people of the better sort.

The immediate necessity in the case of zemindars, both Hindu and Mahomedan, not being pressing, they did not take advantage of the educational opportunities afforded to all classes by the Government; but this conduct of theirs was short-sighted, and has proved to some extent disastrous in both cases, though more so in the case of the Mahomedans than the Hindus; for the law of inheritance went on inexorably distributing the heritages from generation to generation, in smaller and maller shares, amongst the former than amongst the latter. As for the other classes, it is extremely doubtful whether, having regard to their number, the Bhadralog class amongst the Mahomedans are at a disadvantage, as compared with the Hindus of the corresponding class: we believe more lucrative appointments under Government are now held by Mahomedans in the United Provinces and Punjab, than by Hindus, and, though in the professions the Hindus have the advantage to some extent, the Mahomedan middle class Bhadralog embark in trade much oftener than their Hindu confrères. In the matter of local self-Government, the Musulmans, as regards the province of Behar, have decidedly the advantage.

Let it be distinctly understood by all Indians that even, as is not the case now, if all Government appointments, from the highest to the lowest, were to be conferred on native Indians, not one in a thousand of our countrymen could get a livelihood out of Government employ; and, say what we may, unless the best men available for the money are appointed as a rule in Government service, all suffer by the wrong selection. While there are so many walks of life available to make our communities good and great, why fight amongst ourselves for the few loaves and fishes of Government service, and create distrust and jealousy where there had been none before.

Again, our friends the Mahomedan Nationalists, will deserve well of their countrymen, Hindus and Mahomedans alike, if they can unite into one body the Shias and Sunnis, Sheiks, Syuds, Pathans, Moghals, Mahomedan Rajputs, Jâts, Gujaras, Cashmiris, Meeahs, Decani Moplahs, Memons, Borahs, Khojahs, Jollahas, Dhunias, Kunjras, Manihars, Kasais, &c., or the recognized 73 sects into which Musalmans are divided. Let them, if they can, give them a common language, a common dress, and a solidarity of common manners and customs, but above all a feeling of brotherhood.

This will be a first step to the unification of the Mahomedans in India, or, in other words, the growth, in the present European sense of the term, of a united Mahomedan race (not even then a nation), and the growth of such a united

race cannot fail to bring about the growth of an Indian nation in the sense in which the Indian Nationalists desire to bring it about.

We hope we have succeeded in showing that, (1) there is really no conflict of interests between the Musalman and Hindu, (2) that there is really no "Mahomedan Nation" in India, in the sense in which Europeans understand the term nation; and, as the wise seer of Alighur, when he saw in his prophetic vision the growth of an Indian nation, before many of his countrymen, Hindu or Musalman had seen it, beautifully expressed it, "the Mahomedan and Hindu are the two eyes of a great Indian Nation."

As for the other races in India, let them realize fully, that India is their adoptive mother country, and that their lot is cast in India and with the Indians, whether for good or for evil, and every thing will come right. They will, we have no doubt, come to take a more prominent part in the gorwth of an Indian nationality, and in producing a grand future for India.

(5.) The Indian Nationalists, who now, happily, include in their ranks almost all the educated Hindus, a very large proportion of educated Mahomedans, and a number of domiciled Europeans, Eurasians, Parsis, and members of other races of India, believe that India is not altogether dead, but has before her a grand future. They rejoice to find the germs of a national growth, and sanguinely hope to foster such growth. Each in his own section strives to educate and to bring up his community to a common national standard, wiping off angularities where such exist—angularities which prevent the common national growth,—but, at the same time, without in the least trying to do violence to, but on the contrary endeavouring to conserve such differentiations in the different sections of the common body as are peculiar to them. With this programme, progress in all directions is their motto; and, though they have met in an Indian National Congress for the last five years simply to discuss some of the most interesting political questions affecting India as a whole in which all are interested, and a smaller portion of the Hindu delegates in a Social Conference, it is, we hope, now understood by friends and foes, that their programme is as broad as the growth and progress of an Indian nation in every direction—social, moral and political.

But it is asked—Where is this Indian nation? We shall answer this question by bringing forward a historical parallel.

The Roman Empire, composed mainly of towns, and deficient in a rural population, fell, in spite of its mightiness and grandeur, before the inroads of the barbarians, and the progress of centuries was arrested. The barbarians

succeeded, not through the united efforts of a body politic, but through the personal greatness of some of their chiefs in founding such great empires as that of Charlemagne. But the Empire of Charlemagne fell, and fell before it was ripe, before fresh inroads of barbarians. Europe, the Empire of Charlemagne included, became divided into feudal units, and it was only the occurrence of one great event which primarily brought about the formation of the European nations. The phenomena in India have not been exactly similar, but you will find events for events, in close sequence.

It was not here a great Empire, like that of Rome, weakened and enervated by causes which need not here be recapitulated, that fell, but petty States into which the India of the day was divided, corresponding to the cities of the Great Roman Empire, minus the central government, which at the end, in the case of the Roman Empire, had come to be a word of derision. These petty kingdoms fell before a Mahomedan invasion, and not exactly a barbarian inroad, for the Mahomedan invaders of India had a civilization of their own, though inferior to that of the conquered Hindus. Take Akbar for Charlemagne, and you will find another part of the parallel complete. They were both like meteors, suddenly emerging from the darkness of their times, to be as suddenly lost and extinguished again in darkness. Both understood, better than other people, the wants of their time; its real present exigencies; what, in the age in which they lived, society needed, to enable it to subsist and attain its natural development. Both knew, better than any other people of their times, how to weld the powers of society and direct them skilfully towards the realization of this end. Hence proceeded their glory; and it was hence that they were understood, accepted and followed, and commanded the willing aid of all in the work which they were performing for the benefit of all.

But the parallel does not end here. Neither Charlemagne nor Akbar stopped at this point. When the real wants of their time were in some degree satisfied, the ideas and the will of both proceeded further; both quitted the region of present facts and exigencies, and indulged in combinations more or less vast and grandiose. Both aspired to extend their activity and influence indefinitely, and to possess the future as they had possessed the present. A religious neutrality, was the need of the times, and here the State policy should have stopped, but Akbar would found a universal religion, and be the high priest himself. Men lent themselves to his fancies: his flatterers and dupes even admired them, and vaunted them as his sublimest conceptions; but disquietude and uneasiness began to make themselves felt even while Akbar lived,

and a great reaction followed on his death. Who will say that in the sequence of cause and effect, the fanatical outburst of Aurungzebe was not the reactionary result of the fancies of Akbar acting on other forces? With Aurungzebe commenced the downfall of the Moghul Empire, and that great Empire was soon split, not as in Europe, into so many *feudal units*, but into *provincial satrapies*, until the great event that favoured the growth of a nation, came, not in the shape of a Crusade, as was the case in Europe, but nevertheless an event very similar in its consequences—the establishment of the British Government in India. The Crusades brought Europe into contact with the progress of the East, and the establishment of British Government in India brought India into contact with the civilization of the West.

A French writer thus describes the effect of the Crusades in Europe:—"By this means, not only was the trade in silk, porcelain and Indian commodities extended and facilitated, and new routes opened to commercial industry and activity, but what was of much more importance, foreign manners, unfamiliar notions, extraordinary productions, offered themselves in crowds to the minds of the people of Europe, confined, since the fall of the Roman Empire, within too narrow a circle. They began to understand the value of the most beautiful, the most populous, and the most anciently civilized of the four quarters of the globe. They began to study the arts creeds, and idioms of its inhabitants. The world seemed to open on the side of the East."

On the same subject another writer says—"Such, in my opinion, were the great and true effects of the Crusades; on one side, the extension of ideas, the enfranchisement of mind, on the other, the aggrandizement of existences, and a large sphere opened to activity of all kinds: they produced at once a greater degree of individual liberty and of political unity. They aided the independence of men, and the centralization of society. Much has been asked as to the means of civilization which they directly imported from the East; it has been said that the chief portion of the great discoveries which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, called forth the deep development of European civilization—the compass, printing and gunpowder,—were known in the East, and that the crusaders may have brought them thence. This, to a certain point, is true. But some of these assertions are disputable. That which is not, is the influence and the general effect of the Crusades upon the mind on one hand, and upon society on the other: they drew European society from a very straightened track, and led it into new and infinitely more extensive paths; they commenced that transformation of the various elements

of European society into Governments and peoples, which is the character of modern civilization."

In almost the same words may be described the effect of the event in India which has again brought the West and the East into contact more intimately than the Crusades ever did. The far-reaching effects of this closer relationship, we shall have occasion to touch hereafter.

Now we hope to be permitted to answer the question—"Where is this Indian Nation?" by putting another question—Where was this French Nation before the 12th century? Let us hear the testimony of one of the greatest of French historians: "The races, Gauls, Romans, Gallo-Romans, Franks, Gallo-Franks were profoundly different, and even hostile; the laws, traditions, manners, languages likewise differed and conflicted; situations, social relations, had neither generality nor fixedness."

Now, France had not the ancient civilization of India in the background, and the modern progress of the world in the foreground, to look to, at the time when, under circumstances almost exactly similar, she came to grow into a nation, to become, in the course of a few centuries, the foremost nation in the world.

It will not be denied that political unity serves as much to foster the growth of a nation as moral unity. The external, visible unity, the unity of name and government, is one of the most important elements in the idea of a nation. Professor Seeley says, "Nationality is compounded of several elements, of which a sense of kindred is *only one*. The sense of a common interest, and the habit of forming a single political whole, constitute another element." Among the circumstances which at present favour the growth of an Indian Nation, the most important, in fact the primary circumstance is, therefore, the *political unity* of India under one Government. A multitude of causes are ordinarily assigned for the downfall of the Hindus and the Mahomedans. To us it appears that the only reason is that, before the present time, India was divided into a number of independent Governments, and had not one Government to give her a political common name. Her people, under both the Hindus and the Musulmans, were not a politically united people. They had no common destiny. But the apparent is never taken to be the real reason. To go to the legendary history of India, Krishna, saw in this the bar to the growth of an Indian nation, even in the day of the War of Kuru Punchala. One empire under the Pandavs was the policy which he most favored, and he made nothing of fratricidal wars which would forward this result. He foresaw that, if the petty States of India could be united into one whole, the Aryas (Hindus) would grow politically into a strong nation.

In the mythical period, this king or that king is described as a Raj Chakrabarti, one having a paramount power over the others ; but even these myths reveal the fact that India was nevertheless ruled by a number of petty chiefs, and as long as no means was adopted for her protection against foreign invasion, internecine wars were always going on. The Budhists are said to have founded a great Empire ; but their kingdom, even in the days of Asoka, did not embrace anything like the whole of India Vicramajit did, indeed, repel a foreign invasion ; but his kingdom could not have embraced a third of India. It is the fashion to speak of a Moghul Empire ; but even in the palmiest days of Akbar, it did not extend beyond the Nurbudda, and when Aurungzebe extended it to the Deccan, the Mahratta power had already risen, and the fall of the so-called Moghul Empire had commenced. Later on, Madhoji Scindia conceived the idea of a united India, but his hope was not realized.

The union of India, as a political whole under the present Government is, therefore, the most significant event in the history of India. It is for the first time that she is a united whole, and one feels almost intuitively that she has been thus united, as it were providentially, for the first time in her long history of 3,000 years, and after undergoing a long series of misfortunes, for a great purpose, and for a grand future.

India is no longer a geographical conception, like Europe, but a country under a common government, wherein the blessings of peace and prosperity, nay even the grievances that are shared in common, serve to make the people one in feelings and interests. The echo of a murmur against taxation reverberates throughout the whole country, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the furthest East. Highhandedness in the Panjab arouses public sympathy in Bengal, and *vice versâ*. Her Majesty, the Queen Empress of India, in her gracious proclamation, has declared : " We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duty which binds us to all our other subjects ; and this obligation, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil :" and the whole of India regards this as its National Charter. A common government for all time to come, an English Government, which has thus brought about a political unity in India, and which, by its benign policy of education, of freedom of the press, and of free expression of opinion among the subject races, is contributing to the growth of a united people, must, therefore, be the first basal condition for this United Indian Nation.

(2) With this common government, again, we have religious

neutrality, the symbol of peace for India, and the symbol of peace for the world at large. This is another strong element tending to produce a moral unity of the highest type. The world has hitherto witnessed the moral unity of common creeds, and it has unhappily also witnessed, in too many cases, the exterminating wars of hostile creeds, and the cruel persecutions, with their only redeeming feature, the display at times of human grandeur which such persecutions bring about; but it has yet to realize the fulness of that moral unity which the toleration of each other's faith, fostered and encouraged by a religious neutrality such as that observed by the British Government, is calculated to bring forth.

At a time when religious toleration was still only imperfectly recognized in European countries, a Company of Christian merchants became the dominant power in India, and met here in India Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Christianity, not in belligerent attitude, but under a common Government, each claiming its protection; and wisely enough the policy of religious neutrality—a policy which Sir Thomas More, 200 years before, could describe only as prevalent in his Utopia—was adopted. Thus, what was Utopian, came to be Indian.

We have already shown how toleration is the spirit of religious growth amongst the Hindus, and how the religious neutrality, thus wisely adopted, also fosters that spirit amongst other sections of the people in India. It is also in perfect correspondence with the religious progress of the age. People whose ancestors burned one another at the stake, are now coming to realize the grand Indian truth, that the spiritual concerns of a man concern the individual alone. Men care for the free growth of a tree; men care for the free growth of the physical body of man; but hitherto they have not much cared for the free growth of the religious man. They impose the creed of his father upon the infant, and he, in his future religious growth, bends and twists under that creed. The sapling has no free growth: it is bent from its budding. It has been reserved for priest-ridden India, to give the mind free play as to its inner-consciousness regarding spiritual truths, and to preach, as the Sublime Bhagavatgita preaches,—a principle which influences the Hindus in their dealings with the beliefs of others in a spirit of perfect toleration, the following amongst its highest truths:—যে যথা মাং প্রপদ্যন্তে তাংস্তথৈ ভজাম্যহং "In whatever form a man may worship me, I accept it in that form."

There is almost always a latent fear that society would perish if established creeds were taken away and men's minds left free. We are apt to forget the difference between religion and the discipline of the mind which religion brings. We forget that this discipline is not attainable

through creed alone, or through any particular creed, and, even after we find that it is attainable under other conditions than our own, we are apt to forget that it is the one end of all creeds. In his struggle after a knowledge of eternal truths, the Hindu has discovered this truth. He knows and believes that "Mukti is for the good and pious," whatever his creed.

There is yet another aspect of the question: Dr. Congreve observes on the prospects of Christianity in India :—

"We have two religious systems to deal with in India, the Mohamadan, and the Brahminical. Both are yet powerful; on neither can we make any impression. . . . For the religious system of India leaves its worshippers no sense of want, that primary condition of its acceptance of a new religion. The contest is not such as it was with the polytheistic system of Greece and Rome." . . . . . .

"For the second great religious system with which we are in contact, little need be said. The verdict of history is definite and unimpeachable. On Mohamadanism, Christianity has made no impression, has tacitly renounced the attempt to make any. The rival monotheisms met in the middle ages. The issue of the struggle was not doubtful. Greek Christianity succumbed. Latin Christianity waged successfully a defensive war. More than this it was unable to accomplish. Each of the rivals claims for itself an exclusive possession of the religious belief of mankind. Both alike are rejected by the other. They rest side by side, convincing monuments of the exaggeration of their respective claims."

The Semitic conception of godhead and of the destiny of mankind had been accepted by the Western Aryans before they had yet time to advance from Nature to Nature's God, and these conceptions are now in contact with the conceptions which the Aryans of the East, with free minds, had worked out on these points. The encounter takes place at a time when the highest civilization has been achieved by the Western Aryans, and when freedom of thought is accepted and tolerated as a man's birth-right. Who can say that the most intricate problems which have hitherto engaged the mind of man may not find their final solution here, and in this contact; or that the highest Gnyan (ज्ञान), attainable only by contemplation and the dispassion to be arrived at by discipline and practice, which alone satisfied the spiritual longings of the Aryans of the East, and was regarded by them as superior to all Dharm (dogmatic creeds and ritualistic usages), may not again be accepted by the loftiest minds in the world at large as a precious gift from India?

In India the process of evolution and development in religious

thought has been going on unrestricted and unfettered, and the several advances and reactions are distinctly marked. The world's religions, until they have been bound down by books and dogmas, have passed through the same process. The process is clearly discernible among the individuals composing a society, as also in the individual himself at various stages of his education and progress. The wisdom of India takes into account these varied states of development, and declares that, while the highest Gnyan ( জ্ঞান ), that knowledge by which dispassion is attained, is for the intellectually advanced; the Dharm, with its boundless beliefs, rituals and usages, is for the masses at large. Perhaps this is another truth, which the world will receive from the experience of the Aryans of the East.

But the profit and loss account arising out of this new state of things, in the formation and progress of our future nation, and in the world at large, has to be taken. Instead of the fanatical zeal which is said to serve as a binding tie to a community, we shall have the tie which binds one man to another when both respect and revere the great and the good, when each accepts the other as a brother, not because he follows the same creed, but because they are both pure in spirit and noble in heart. If religion binds, religiousness also binds; but creeds divide, while religiousness does not.

(3.) The contact of the civilization of the 19th century with the civilization of India, is another circumstance favoring the growth of an Indian nation. That contact is a unique circumstance in the development of the world's progress, as in it has met all the hereditary wealth of mankind, moral and intellectual of all past times. The practical here meets the subtle and the metaphysical, and the contact must tend to the benefit of both. Professor Seeley says: "The greatness of modern, as compared with mediæval or ancient civilization is, that it possesses a larger stock of demonstrated truths, and therefore infinitely more of practical power." If India were in a state of isolation from modern Europe, it might be just possible for the poetical and mystic Indians to be disposed to despise demonstrated truth, with the power it brings. They might choose to call it shallow, and to sneer at its practical triumphs, while revelling for their own part in reveries and in the luxuries of unbounded speculation; but a practical sense of want, a consciousness that if they were to exist even for the subtle and metaphysical, they could only exist, in the present circumstances, under different conditions, intervenes, and bring them face to face with the actual realities of life. This sense of want, this consciousness that in the actual realities of life they have been outstripped by the practical people of Europe, is now

almost universal among the Indians, and the feeling is making them one. Any attempt to take advantage of the practical truths demonstrated, in whatever part of India, and by Indian people of any denomination, pleases the whole of India. There is an almost universal desire not to be dependent on others for all the necessities of life. In Bengal they have a song, which is even now sung by their Jatrawallas, boatmen, and other common people, describing this national want, and consequent poverty, and the people's feelings regarding it.

Feelings like this must make a nation—and it is in this that the European section of the community will first blend with the Hindu and the Musulman, to form a nation. The European, if he does not degenerate, must bring to India the practical. Already he is, in many cases, developing the resources of the country, and his example is being imitated by Indians of other denominations in many useful walks of life. We have our mill-owners, Indigo planters and tea planters, &c. The European portion of the community resent more keenly than the other Indians (Hindus and Musulmans) any measures which spring from a desire to satisfy the greed of capitalists or mill-owners in England at the expense of Native Indian manufactures and trade. And if we are permitted here to enter into the domain of speculation, we may predict that, with her vast resources as a great agricultural country, India is destined soon to regain the position as a great manufacturing country, which she held before the days of machines, and peacefully to reconquer the world again, solving in that re-conquest two of the knotty questions pertaining to labour in the present day—the working-man difficulty, and the poverty of the masses; and thus the practical will become blended with the poetical and mystical, indicating a further advance of the world in the right direction.

(4) Another circumstance which is conducing at the present day to the growth of an Indian nation, is the spread of English education. The triumph of Lord Macaulay was the triumph of the National cause of India. The policy of Lord Macaulay is giving, what India still wants, a common language. It is now spoken and understood by over two millions of Indians (including many of the common people of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies), and is the vehicle through which more than 300,000 Indians, a number which is yearly increasing, have been taught in our schools and colleges, the literature, history, philosophy and sciences of the West; it makes a Bengali understood in the extreme south of India and a Madrasee in Bengal. It is the common language, as it were, of educated Indians, and makes them one in thought, feelings and national aspirations.

But nevertheless in the growth of an Indian nation it can only perform a temporary function. It will, of course, continue to be the language through which India will speak to England, but nevertheless it cannot be the language of India. Year after year the English-speaking people of India, will doubtless increase, and it may be that, in the course of the next hundred years, the English language will come to be understood by the masses in India, including its womankind ; it will, however, continue to be the language of the *camp*, as Urdu once was, and even now is, for it is not in the nature of things that we can contribute anything worthy to English literature. When, in his last University Convocation speech, the Vice-Chancellor raised the question why the English University education in India of the last 30 years had been so barren of result, he said that the fact had been exaggerated to some extent—and, with some amount of pride, pointed to one novelist, one poet, and one mathematician. The list, after all, did not show that University education had borne much fruit, and the question remains, with the causes unexplained and the remedies untouched. To us it seems that our University education must remain barren of result so long as we cannot change the present system to something better. The English language and literature must, of course, continue to form an important part of the curriculum of studies ; and Sanscrit, as the only classical language taught by our Universities, must also continue, and greater attention be paid to the attainment of Sanscrit scholarship than at present ; but there is no reason why the vernaculars of India should be neglected. An additional subject, comprising the vernacular of the province and Hindi, ought to be added, and history, mathematics, philosophy and sciences to be taught in the vernacular, or in Hindi. If the five Universities of India were conjointly to set about the task, it would not be at all difficult ; and success in it will be attended by this merit that, wherever a term has to be coined in the vernaculars,—and many terms will have to be coined,—it will come from a common mint, with the imprimatur of all the Universities attached to it. The Calcutta University has frittered away, from year to year, a portion of the splendid endowments in its gift, but yet there are no scientific works, no high mathematical works, no good historical works in Bengali, or, for the matter of that, in any of the vernaculars of India. The growth of modern Indian literature, history, sciences, mathematics and philosophy should have, as its basis, translations from European languages ; and the foundation once laid, with the materials ready and at command—the accumulated stores of centuries of European civilization only waiting to be laid down—the superstructure, which, to be beautiful, should be indigenous,

must come in time. We hear of too much cramming now-a-days, but if our Universities were to teach our boys their geography, their history, their mathematics, their philosophy, their science, in their own vernaculars, much cramming would be avoided, and a great deal of precious time saved.

We leave the subject of the growth of vernacular literature to our authors, and we do not extend to them the least amount of protection. Their productions do not sell, not because none of them write well, but because there is no reading public, and vernacular literature is at a discount with our young men. Yet, amidst such discouragements, Bengal at least has, within the last thirty years, produced authors whose reputation, actually confined to Bengal, should have been Indian. Some of our young authors who have made literature their profession, finding Bengali unprofitable, have taken to translating Sanscrit works into English. It is admirable work, no doubt, but we leave it as a suggestion, whether our authors, both to acquire an Indian reputation, and to make their literature pay, would not do well to write in Hindi. The language of Tulsidas is now almost universally understood throughout India, and, from days earlier than those of Bharat Chandra, the language in which Tulsidas wrote, has been written with all its idioms, and its sweet diction, and with masterly skill, by our Bengali authors, when they have attempted it. The reason for this is clear. The Bengali has branched out from the Hindi within the last 300 years. The poetry of Kabikankun, Vidiapati and Govind Das might, with slight changes, be published as Hindi works, and an edition of Chaitanya Charita Mitra might be published in Hindi, without any change at all. The differentiation, indeed, of Hindi and Bengali is only clearly discernible in the last century and it is unhappily the aim of our modern Bengali authors to make it more marked. In this matter, their action has been the same as that of our paternal Government, which has raised the Assamese to the rank of a distinct language, and which, without pronouncing any definite policy, has encouraged the publication of seven Grammars of seven provincial dialects of the Hindi language, with provincialisms not more marked than the Bengali of the several districts of Bengal. Hindi is now the language of the courts in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and, thanks to the statesmanship of Sir George Campbell, in Behar. It should be the language of the courts in the Central Provinces; and, as the terms in use in the courts are almost the same throughout India, it might with advantage be extended to those of Bengal, Guzrat and Maharastra. The Bengalis and Maharattas would be very unreasonable indeed, if they were to resist the change.

(5.) Geographical difficulties have hitherto, to a great extent, retarded the growth of a United India, and favored provincialism. These difficulties have now been happily swept away. Distances have been annihilated by railways and telegraphs. "I am a part of what I see," sings the poet; and a common Government, with its peace and security, its railways and steamers, connecting, as it does, the most distant parts of India with one another, and rendering travelling convenient and easy, makes a solidarity of Indian custom and manners possible. The Indian National Congress renders an important service in this respect; and when the people of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces see Hindu females of respectable families of Bombay and Madras appearing before the public, the wives of Indian Brahmin judges and Indian Brahmin councillors, coming to see the proceedings of the Congress, and taking part, not from behind the purdah, in the public receptions of the Congress delegates, they cannot, however conservative they may be in their feelings with respect to the seclusion of women, regard these public appearances as un-Hindu; and when, on returning home, they speak of these matters from personal observation, a new interest is created and a new way opened for reform.

When, in the same way, the Bengalis see the Kashmiri Brahmin taking food brought for him by a Musalman, and using water fetched in his *mussuck*, even the most rigid conservatives among them cannot condemn the action and practices of our more zealous reformers in the same style as before.

The home-staying Bengali regards Sanghai marriages as an entirely Mahomedan custom, and when he comes to know that widow marriage prevails, to a large extent, amongst the Hindu people of India, he ceases to condemn it as un-Hindu.

Marriage at ages which we considered proper for marriage in all societies, is customary in Hindu society in some parts of India, and even love marriages, in Indian forms, are not quite out of rule. Homogeneity of Hindu practice in different parts of India would bring about all that the most ardent reformers desire. In this respect there is no need for the importation of foreign articles till all our indegenous sources have been exhausted.

Already something like a homogeneity is growing up in the matter of dress and amongst the divergences of dresses, conspicuously in the head-dress observable in an assembly from all parts of India, as in the Indian National Congress, even a casual observer must mark that, from year to year, uniformity is growing, and the time is not far distant when the Indian national dress for males will come to consist of a pair of

trousers, a long Parsee coat, and a light *pugri* of the sort which made our friend, the Hon'ble Sobramania Ayar of Madras, look so decent and graceful in the Calcutta Congress of 1886.

The few Indian ladies who presented themselves at the Congress as delegates from different parts of India were, colour apart, dressed almost all alike. There can hardly be a better dress, or one more suited to the Indian climate, for use at home, than that now in vogue almost throughout India,—a *dhoti* and shirt for males, and a *sari* and jacket for females. The Indian wardrobe has always been very simple, and we hope it will remain so for all time to come.

These are the circumstances which are contributing to the growth of an Indian nation, but there are certain circumstances which are pointed out as bars to that growth. These are: 1st, the want of a common religion; 2nd, the want of a common language; 3rd, the Hindu caste system; 4th, the conflict of interests of the different sections of the community.

With reference to the first we have shown that the obstacle is more apparent than real; that the binding force of creeds has been much exaggerated, and that the tie which binds all good men and true to one another, irrespective of creed, is too often lost sight of.

With regard to the second: we have shown that, though its function is only temporary, the English language, which is being spoken by a larger and larger number of Indian people from year to year, serves as a common vehicle of speech, at least for the representative class of the Indian population. Except in Bengal, the Hindi, or rather the hybrid Urdu, is the language of the Mahomedan population of India, as also of the Hindu population inhabiting more than half India, while in the lesser half, it is understood without any difficulty whatever. The hybrid Urdu does not take much time to change into the purer Hindee, witness the change introduced by Sir George Campbell in the language of the courts in Behar.

The third point requires a somewhat more lengthened examination. The author of the "Positive Philosophy" says:—

"No institution has ever shewn itself more adapted to honor ability of various kinds than this polytheistic organization, which often exalted into apotheosis its commemorations of eminent inventors, who were offered to the adoration of their respective castes. In a social view the virtues of the system are not less conspicuous. Politically, its chief attribute was stability. All precautions against attack from within and from without were most energetically instituted. . . . . As to the influence on morals, this system was favorable to personal morality, and yet more to domestic; for the spirit of

caste was a mere extension of the family spirit. . . . . As to social morals, the system was evidently favourable to respect for age and homage to ancestors. The sentiment of patriotism did not as yet transcend love of caste, which, narrow as it appears to us, was a necessary preparation for the higher atachment."

On the other hand, in his work on "Ancient Civilization in India," Mr. R. C. Dutt sees in the institution of the caste system the cause of the downfall of India. What is there in it which the foreigner, the greatest philospher of this or of any age admires, and which an Indian thus condemns We have analyzed caste, and we have shown that there is no rigidity, no inflexibility about it; that its requirements have changed from time to time, and that very soon, its only requirement will come to be "not to marry outside the caste." We have shown what cautious changes are possible even here, and what changes, if introduced, would be popular. Will this interdict of marriages retard the growth of an Indian nation? We believe not. We do not see all angularities wiped out even in a full grown nation; perhaps, in some cases, inequalities grow, and are hourly growing. These inequalities are inequalities of wealth and power. They give rise to distinctions between man and man, and this, in a marked manner, in such free countries as England, where all men are politically equal. There is the plebeian hatred and the patrician pride; and not that feeling of subordination, which the hierarchy of caste engenders, and which keeps these disintegrating feelings in check where it exists. It is very probable that, in India, caste, at least amongst the Aryan settlers themselves, originated in the same sort of distinction between man and man which the philosophers saw in the *New Atlantis*, or in *Utopia*. At least we have an authentic record that what was a Utopian dream in Europe was practically attempted in India by one of her late kings. (Ballal Sen) But it was a dream in Europe and a failure in India. The failure, not Bullal Sen's, we mean, but of the earliest unrecorded ones of the series, together of course, with other causes, too many to enumerate in this place, has left us the hereditary caste system. That system is primarily supposed to be based on birth and hereditary occupation; but hereditary occupation no longer exists, and there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent a man, plebeian born, from rising as high in the social scale, in the European sense, as he can. Examples of this, under the benign British Government, are numerous; but in no time, perhaps, was there anything like an interdict to their rising in this sense. All castes afford authentic instances of the rise of some of their individual members, dating from the remotest times.

Caste divisions now spring only from birth; and who will not prize them as conducing to the levelling and wiping out of distinctions between man and man, grounded on the possession of wealth or power. It is only lately that the lady Superintendent of the Bethune School has, by her writing in the newspapers, in which she seeks to draw a distinction between the girl students under her charge, as belonging to the upper, middle, and lower classes of the Indian people, according to the means of their parents or guardians, excited the ire, amongst others, of a gentleman who is a Brahmo, though originally a high caste Brahmin, and who has done more than any one else to do away with the fetters of caste, and of another who is an Indian Christian. Both these gentlemen appeal to birth as the standard of division in India, and take the lady to task for trying to import occidental distinctions which do not exist in the Indian system. Our Mahomedan brethren appeal to the same principle, and Indian Christians of the Bhadralog class can never be persuaded to mix in marriage with Christians who were not Bhadralog. It is an instinctive admission that of the two, birth, or supposed birth, is a better regulating principle of division between man and man, than the distinction founded mainly on wealth or power. In a political point of view, we have shown that the one is a greater disintegrating factor than the other.

There is a reflected glory in a long list of ancestors, and, in India, prince and peasant can alike trace their ancestry, in an unbroken series, to the remotest past. Caste alone conserves this unbroken list. There is, again, an *esprit de corps*, a love of caste, which, "narrow as it appears to us, is a necessary preparation for the higher attachment" to one's own country and its people. It is like the provincialism to which we referred at the beginning of this chapter, subsidiary, but by no means antagonistic, to Indian nationalism. In countries where the birth principle does not prevail, nothing, we suppose, is more common than for a pastor's daughter to be a governess, or, in the second generation, for the daughter's daughter to be a maid servant. The cousin of a man rolling in wealth is not uncommonly found discharging service not befitting his rank, and in many cases his descendants sink never to rise again. Such things were impossible in India a few years ago, and are impossible even now. Here a man reduced to abject poverty is preserved by the spirit of his caste. Once, in the course of conversation with this writer, a missionary gentleman—one of those types whom all classes respect—expressed his wonder that the undergraduate of our Universities, instead of seeking employment as a clerk on ten rupees in a mercantile office, or elsewhere, does not become head Khansamah in some big Chowringhee-house.

The reason given then stands good now, and we hope will stand good for all time to come. He cannot forget, if a Bhadralog, that he is a Bhadralog born, and, though reduced to want, he choses to remain a Bhadralog. With this feeling in him, and in all coming after him, he, his children, or his remoter descendants, must rise to-morrow, or at a more distant date, if they are down in the world to-day. Even if he be the poorest of the poor, the other people of his caste are bound to pay him the same consideration as they previously paid him or his family. If he is their equal, they must ask him to their caste dinners, to all their caste meetings, and in all cases, the rich being few, they, the rich, under the rules of caste, must accept him and his for marriage connections as well.

But the greatest service which caste, or rather its rigid interdict of marriages, has done, is this; it has served to preserve the Hindu name under a foreign yoke. It did not allow India to be Musalmanised. The interdict, in its most rigid form, dates only from a time when India came to be overrun by foreigners. The early conquerors of India had Aryanised India by conquest, marriages, conversion, and colonization. The Ramayan begins with the story of "Risha Sringa," an Arya Brahmin, who is lured away from his father to some kingdom south-east of Nerbudda, for marriage with the daughter of the Raja, evidently a non-Aryan. The marriage is celebrated with *éclat*, and when the irate father comes to claim his son, he is appeased by seeing beautiful towns erected all along his way, and passing for towns of his son, till then as beggarly as he.

The marriage of Jaratkaru, sister of the non-Aryan Nags of the forest, with Jaratkaru Rishi, the Aryan, is another instance. There are like cases all the world over, and recurring at all times of its history. They show how eager are the weaker people to enter into marriage alliances with the stronger conquerors, and assimilate themselves with them. The non-Aryans lost their distinct existence, as the Britons lost theirs, and as many other races in Europe and Asia lost theirs. If the Hindus could, without incurring the strong censure of their people which loss of caste implies, marry into the conquering race, they also would do so, and their distinct existence as a people would have by this time entirely gone. Should we, therefore, be in a hurry to do away with this interdict, which has served to preserve us as a distinct people amidst all our adversities, so long as we are what we are? We have indicated how far a slow progress, a relaxation of a rigid rule, is possible. Perhaps, in time, the Hindus will come to assimilate themselves to the ancient practice indicated in the Shastras,

and there will be no interdict to marriages between Hindus and Hindus in an *anulum* form. But this social interdict, which we have shown practically means nothing, is no bar to the political union of the Hindus, as a people, with other races who now inhabit India.

As to the fourth point. We have already shown that there is in reality no conflict of interests between the different races of India. The cry which is now and then raised, that, if the Hindus had a strong voice in our legislative councils, they would stop the killing of kine by a legislative enactment, is too silly to deserve consideration; and, except the one point sought to be touched by the Ilbert Bill, one can scarcely conceive of any other instance of conflict of interests between race and race in India which could engage the attention of our legislative councils. In all other respects, the same laws govern India, the same taxes are levied from all around, and if a screw gets loose anywhere, it affects A, as well as B and C. A higher state of education will clear up obscurer visions, and again we say—evil agencies, the efforts of all the evil passions, if the present aspirations last, will be but *atomic* obstacles, which will be drowned in the great progressive streams.

We have sufficiently indicated what the basal conditions of Indian Nationalism are: 1st. Appreciation of the blessings of a common Government; 2nd. Toleration for all kinds of religious views—and we are glad that at least four-fifths of the population of India are prepared by their religious teachings to accept this as a condition of union; 3rd. Subordination of the parts to the whole. The Hindu family system,—nay, the despised caste system—is, in this connection, an aid and not an obstacle; 4th. An honest desire for an indigenous growth, free from all foreign imitations—the experience of the earliest Aryan settlers in India being taken as a guide for the solution of knotty questions of social ethics in relation to the climatic condition of the country.

There is one more point and we have done. Professor Seeley, after examining the question whether the English conquered India, and answering it in the negative, observes that England holds India because there is no Indian nation, and then proceeds to say:—"A population that rebels, is a population that is looking up, that has begun to hope and to feel its strength. But if such a rising took place, it would be put down by the Native soldiery, so long as they have not learnt to feel themselves brothers to Hindus, and foreigners to the Englishman that commands them. But on the other hand if this feeling ever does spring up, if India does begin to breathe as a single national whole—and our own rule is perhaps doing more than ever was done by former Governments to make this possible—

then no such explosion of despair, even if there were cause for it, would be needed." The Professor would not have, perhaps, thought that the growth of the feeling of nationality in India would be immediately followed by a desire on the part of the Indians to separate India from England, if the remedies which he suggests for preventing such a desire, and for securing a permanent connection between England and her colonies, were applicable to the case of India: that is, in other words, if India could be included in what he calls "Greater Britain," and if the federal system which he recommends for adoption in relation to the colonies, could be extended to India. Nowhere is this scheme of federalization fully defined; but we gather that it is something like this: each colony having a parliament to look to its internal affairs, with a Government responsible to its own parliament, and a central body of representatives of "Greater Britain" sitting in England, intrusted with the duty of looking to its common defence from external foes.

Let there be no misunderstanding on the point: the present aspirations enunciated in the Congress programme, fall immeasurably below what is proposed as a condition of permanently attaching the colonies to England. The Indian nationalists do not seek parliamentary Government at home and federation with England, they simply pray for the improvement and expansion of their legislative councils by the addition of a few representative members selected on the elective principle.

It is clear, again, that the Professor's idea of a nationality in India is that of the Hindu revivalists. It has been shown that the present national growth is not of that type, and that a revival of that sort is impossible under the present conditions. That the infantile growth now observable in India is of a kind which includes Hindus, Musulmans, and Christians and other races of India. Is there anything in the nature of things that would prevent the scheme of Government which the Professor proposes for the colonies, as the means of securing their permanent connection with the mother country, from being extended to India when the time comes? Of course that time is yet very very remote. For to weld into a *common people* all the races of India, cannot be the work of a day, or even a century. But when this common people is fully formed, there will be a considerable portion of it who will claim distinct kindred with English people at home, and otherwise fulfil all the conditions for being a people of one common *State*, as the Professor defines it. How can the Professor deny the same scheme of Government to them as he proposes for the colonies?

The world looks as if, sooner or later, it would come to be divided into a few great political divisions. Sooner or later it will be the interest of all smaller States to amalgamate with some mightier State, and to form a people with its people. Why should not India, therefore, feel it her interest to be tacked to this "Greater Britain?" What will India and the Indians gain, by severing themselves from England, if the Indians come to have in reality, what, even now, they have in theory, —all the rights of British subjects?

There is a greater chance of the colonists thinking of separating themselves from the mother country than of the Indians ever doing so; for, in them, whatever ties of kindred exist (and such ties did not prevent the United States from declaring their independence), they cannot be stronger than the tie of gratitude of a united Indian people, if England honestly assists, as she has been hitherto doing, in the growth of that people. In India, again, the sense of liberty must always be tempered by a feeling of subordination to superiors in age, intellect, and position—a feeling which is engendered by the Indian family system, and which we hope will always remain a trait in our national character.

But these are idle speculations. It is an article of belief of the Indian Nationalists, that the conditions under which alone a nationality in India is growing and will grow, are primarily, a common Government, and that Government, a British Government; and, as a corollary to that belief, they hold that there would be an end of all such hope if, by some disaster, the connection of England and India were to cease.

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

## ART. III.—THE FOLK-LORE OF THE MISERERE.

SINCE the middle of the third century, seven Psalms have been specially set apart by the Catholic Church for use in the Lenten Services. They were named the seven Penitential Psalms, and the reasons given for their being so numbered are various. Some say that the number seven had reference to Naaman dipping himself seven times in the river Jordan, according to the word of the Prophet and the Levitical command that the leper should be sprinkled seven times for his cleansing, 'and he,' the priest, 'shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean.' (Lev. xiv, 7). Others, again, see in them the seven weapons wherewith the Christian fights against the seven deadly sins; the seven prayers inspired by the sevenfold Spirit to the repentant sinner; the seven guardians for the seven days of the week; the seven companions for the seven Canonical Hours of the day.

When referred to the seven deadly sins, they are generally taken as follows: Psalm vi, against anger: Psalm xxxii, against pride; Psalm xxxviii, against gluttony; Psalm li, against lust; Psalm cii, against covetousness; Psalm cxxx, against envy, and Psalm cxliii, against sloth.

As the expressions of sorrow and repentance, these Psalms have played no unimportant part in the history of penitent and self-convicted souls. Possidius, the biographer of S. Augustine, tells us that this great Confessor of the Church had often said to him, that even the best of Christians ought not to leave the world "without worthy and sufficient penitence," and he acted upon this conviction, for in his last illness he ordered these Penitential Psalms to be written out and placed against the wall, so that he could see them as he lay in bed; and these he looked at and read in the days of sickness, weeping frequently and profusely.

And the comfort that S. Augustine found in these Psalms of Penitence, an equally devoted servant of God found also fifteen hundred years later. Charles Lowder, far away from home and friends at Zell-am-See, lay in his last illness. His biographer says:—Father Lowder then thanked Mr. and Mrs. Taylor for coming, and shook hands with them. This was his farewell; after this he spoke no more to them, except to mention the prayers and psalms that he wished for. Mr. Taylor asked him

whether he would like any reading or prayer, and he asked for the *penitential Psalms*. Mr. Taylor began to read, but, as his voice seemed to be too loud for the sick man's nerves, he gave the book to his daughter, and she read the remainder, Father Lowder telling her the number of each.

He then wished for the 'Prayer for a Happy Death'; and a confession of sin from the *Vade Mecum*. She knelt down, the nurse, who was weeping, holding a candle for her, and read the prayers, Father Lowder joining in the Lord's Prayer. The pain seemed to increase, and he asked for the Commendatory Prayer; they brought him fresh medicine just then, which he took, and then asked again for the prayer, saying 'Amen' distinctly at its conclusion. 'After that,' Miss Taylor said 'he turned his face to the wall, and apparently left this world and its cares, and held communion with his God, dying soon after. It is very touching to read how the peasants belonging to the châlet gathered round his bed, reverently waiting and praying, and how one of them sprinkled the bed with holy water. When the English friends returned, they found flowers all around him, a cross of asters on his breast, and a crucifix, which the priest had sent, in his hands—'his face' they said 'like one of the paintings of the saints of old.'

A foolish use of these Psalms is seen in their being enjoined as a penance by the Inquisition upon Galileo for asserting the truth of the Copernican System He had to repeat them every week for three years. "This must have been intended as extorting a sort of confession from him of his guilt, and an acknowledgment of the justice of his sentence; and, in which there certainly was some cleverness, and indeed, humour, however adding to the iniquity (or foolishness) of the proceeding. Otherwise it is not easy to understand what idea of painfulness or punishment the good fathers could attach to a devotional exercise such as this, which, in whatever way, could only have been agreeable and consoling to their prisoner."

We quote here, before going on to the 51st Psalm in particular, a very curious alliterative title of a paraphrase of the seven Penitential Psalms. It is by William Hunnis, who was Chapel-Master to Queen Elizabeth, and he dedicates his work to Frances, Countess of Essex.

"Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne, comprehending "those Seven Psalmes of the Princelie Prophet David, commonlie "called Penitentiall; framed into a forme of familiar praiers and "reduced into meeter by William Hunnis, one of the gentlemen "of her Maiestie's honourable Chappell, and maister to the "children of the same. 1583."

And now we come, in the words of Dr. Neale, to "the Psalm of all Psalms, Ψαλμὸς ἐξομολογήσεως, as S. Athanasius calls it: that which, of all inspired compositions, has, with the one exception of the Lord's Prayer, been repeated oftenest by the Church. How often then, and under what various circumstances has this Psalm been recited in all ages! For some thirteen hundred years, wherever the hours were kept, it was said seven times a day. Well may S. Augustine say, 'O most blessed sin of David, so gloriously atoned for! O most happy fault, which has brought so many straying sheep to the Good Shepherd.'"

One hundred and fifty-nine Catholic commentators, twenty-seven Lutheran, and many Calvinistic commentators have written upon this Psalm, while one, Alfonso de Tostado, has published a folio volume of 1,200 pages on it. Thus, as Dr. Neale remarks, how dear it has been to the Church in all ages, and not only so, but for those beyond the Church it has its own charm, for the precious ointment of this Psalm not only ran down the beard, and went down to the skirts of Aaron's clothing; but was diffused even among the other sheep which were not of the fold.

It may be noticed here how many theological expressions have their first origin in this Psalm, and how many great theological verities are therein set forth. "The *Kyrie Eleison* at the beginning; the *clean heart;* the *broken and contrite heart;* the *sinner shall be converted;* and above all, here is first to be noticed, the first faint foreshadowing of one of the foundation truths of the Catholic faith,—*Take not Thy Holy Spirit from me.*" Of the great theological truths, "here you have the Incarnation; the calling of the Gentiles; sin, both original and actual; the nature and effect of preaching; grace, both justifying and sanctifying; the Atonement; the Institution of the Church; the Mission of the Holy Ghost."

When we come to the personal testimonies of this Psalm, we may truly say that millions of penitents have found in it a well-spring of hope and contrition. Savonarola, the great preacher, reserved it for a time of trouble, and wrote a comment on it while in prison before his death. As Godfrey de Bouillon and his Crusaders rode into Jerusalem, this Psalm was being sung in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Again and again it has soothed and comforted the last hours of the dying.

S. Margaret of Scotland repeated it on her death-bed, as she held a fragment of the True Cross, and waited for tidings of her husband and sons.

Henry V. had it recited to him in his last agony, and he repeated the words, 'Build thou the walls of Jerusalem,' saying, had he lived, he had purposed delivering Jerusalem from the Infidel.

The Chevalier Bayard, the noble and true, as he lay a-dying said, kissing the cruciform hilt of his sword, *Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*

Lady Jane Grey recited it before her executioners, and so did the martyr Sir Thomas More, kneeling down, and in a loud voice.

The noble-minded Egmont, during the troublous times of Philip II, found comfort in its words as he went his way to an ignominious death.

The last words of John Orcolampadius, the Swiss Reformer who died in 1531, were those which he distinctly, though with panting, breathed for the remission of his sins, using this penitential prayer of David, and so, too, a few years later, did Bullinger, another Swiss Reformer.

The martyr Rogers recited the same on his way to the stake; and its words of penitence and prayer fell upon the dying ears of Arnold of Rugby.

Indeed the history of this Psalm is the history of the Christian soul, and in it the suffering and sinning of all ages have found the expression of their own unworthiness and the comfort that comes from a true confession.

Here let us record what some ancient and modern commentators have said with regard to the Title and Origin of the Psalm. S. Jerome considers that, 'This fiftieth Psalm echoes the voice of him that is penitent; showing how he who has fallen into sin, may, by confessing that sin, rise again to good. Delitzsch says it is a 'Penitential prayer and intercession for restoration to favour.' The Syriac considers it 'A Psalm of David—when he sinned and killed Uriah; and as respects ourselves, containing instruction, and *inculcating the duty of confession.* This is also the interpretation of Eusebius of Cæsarea. Dr. Perowne says of its origin: "I see then no ground for departing from the constant and reasonable belief of the Church, that the Psalm was written by David under the circumstances indicated in the title."—A Psalm of David, when Nathan the Prophet came unto him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba.

Dr. Neale says on the title: "'Where sin hath abounded grace did much more abound.' For consider how, for nearly three thousand years, that sin of David, that one momentary glance from the housetop, has given occasion to the enemies of the Lord, in each successive age, to blaspheme, down from the Lucians and Porphyries of primitive times, to the Voltaires and Humes and Paines of our own. And yet, no doubt, the encouragement it has given to those who otherwise would have despaired, may be known to the Searcher of all

Hearts, far to outweigh the mischief and the blasphemy. So S. Augustine said in his time: so S. Bernard taught in his: so the latest of those who have any claim to the title of a mediæval teacher, S. Thomas de Villanova, more than once asserts: so the great Schools which have their rise on the one hand from S. Vincent de Paul, on the other from De Hauranne, differing as far as Catholics can possibly differ on the subject, are nevertheless agreed in this. One can only remember S. Augustine's words, with respect to a still sadder fall and apply them to this: 'O Sin of Adam, certainly necessary, which merited such and so great a Redeemer."

Spurgeon commenting on the first part of the title,—A Psalm of David, says—'It is a marvel, but nevertheless a fact, that writers have been found to deny David's authorship of this Psalm, but their objections are frivolous, the Psalm is David-like all over. It would be far easier to imitate Milton, Shakespeare or Tennyson, than David. His style is altogether *sui generis*, and is as easily distinguishable as the touch of Raphaelle or the colouring of Rubens."

And now let us turn to the use of this Psalm in the Church. S. Basil in one of his epistles gives us a particular description of the Antelucan or night assemblies, though but in general terms, whilst he makes an apology for the practices of his own Church against some who charged them with innovations. The words are these: "The customs" says he, "which now prevail among us are consonant and agreeable to all the Churches of God. For with us the people, rising early, whilst it is night, come to the house of Prayer, and there with much labour, and affection, and contrition, and tears make confession of their sins to God. When this is done they rise from prayer and dispose themselves to psalmody: sometimes dividing themselves into two parts, *they answer one another in singing, or singing alternately*—ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, and after this, again, they permit me alone to begin the Psalms; the rest *join in the close of every verse*—ὑπήχουσι. And thus, with this variety of psalmody, they carry on the night, *praying betwixt whiles*, or intermingling prayer with their Psalms μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοί. At last, when the day begins to break forth, they all in common, *as with one mouth and one heart, offer up to God the Psalm of Confession*, τον τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως Ψαλμὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀναφέρουσι,—every one making the words of this Psalm to be the expression of his own repentance!

Here we have plain order of these nocturnal or morning devotions. (1) Confession of sins. (2) Psalms sung alternately. (3) Psalms sung by one alone. (4) Prayer between the

Psalms. (5) Lastly, the common Psalm of Confession, or the Penitential Psalm, in the close of all. This Psalm was particularly noted among the ancients by the name of *The Psalm of Confession.*"

In the ROMAN CHURCH it is the first Psalm of Lauds on Monday, and the second in the Benedictine Lauds. It is recited with the other Penitential Psalms in the public expulsion of penitents on Ash-Wednesday, in the absolution of an excommunicate person, and it is used as the 3rd Psalm in the Reconciliation of Penitents on Maundy Thursday. It is one of the Psalms which may be used in the Visitation of the Sick, and is appointed for use in the Burial of the Dead.

In the EASTERN CHURCH it is sung in the Morning Office; together with Psalm xcv, 6-11 in the Confession of Penitents; also at the Unction of the Sick and at the Burial of the Dead —both priests and laity. It is also recited in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, by the Deacon and Priest together, after the censing which follows the Cherubic Hymn.

In the ENGLISH CHURCH this Psalm is used in the Commination Service on Ash-Wednesday.

In the ARMENIAN CHURCH it is said at the beginning of the Office for Holy Baptism, and at the Unction of the Sick.

*John Keble* in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick which he generally used, introduced this Psalm:—he commonly began, says his biographer, S. J. Coleridge, with the first Prayer for Good Friday, 'This thy servant' being substituted for 'This thy family;" then there would be always some kind of confession, very frequently *the fifty-first Psalm*, (indeed, I believe he very seldom, if ever, said prayers with any sick person without introducing some verses at least of that Psalm); then came the prayer in the Visitation Service, and often Collects, special petitions being introduced here and there, to suit the particular case, sometimes in his own words, sometimes in the words of the Psalm, or of the Prayer Book. When death was imminent, over and above the Commendatory Prayer, I have known him repeat at intervals verses or passages of scripture, interspersed with short suffrages and ejaculations, extending over a considerable space of time.

Mrs. Romanoff, in her interesting book on the *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, describes graphically the singing of this Psalm in the Liturgy: "After kissing the sacred picture and the royal gates, he (the Bishop in this case—in others a priest) waves incense round the throne, and then comes out again from the royal gates (which are open all the time of a Bishop's Liturgy, except during the consecration and receiving of the elements) and waving it to the people, repeating, not

intoning, part of Psalm li. Never, in my life, from the lips of Englishman, German or Russian, did I hear any portion of scripture so exquisitely yet so simply, so freely from all effort, repeated as those few verses. Completely unprepared, and situated so as to be able to hear the slightest intonations of his voice, I drank in every syllable—tears, to my own extreme surprise, streaming down my face. '*Make me to hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice,*' were the last words I heard, as he turned unto the altar again, and I think I shall never forget them. The congregation glanced at each other in silent rapture."

We turn to Miss Yonge for her touching account of the execution of *Sir Thomas More*, rightly accounted a martyr, and a true defender of the Faith concerning the headship of the Catholic Church.

The chief charge brought against him was, that he had deprived the king of his dignity and title, by denying him to be the Head of the Church. There he stood in a plain woollen gown, his face keen and benevolent as ever, though his hair had turned grey in his imprisonment, a perfect lawyer still, and well able to defend himself. Sentence of death was pronounced. More heard it calmly, and then made open confession, that seven years of diligent study had only convinced him, that it was impossible that a layman could be Head of the Church. He was asked if he would be wiser than all the learned men in Europe, to which he replied, that all the rest of Christendom was of his opinion . . . As he was being led out with the axe, with the edge turned towards him, his son knelt down to ask his blessing, as he had so often done from his own aged father; and when the barge reached the Tower wharf, down through all the guards with bills and halberts, rushed his daughter Margaret, flinging her arms round his neck and kissing him, with sobs of 'Oh! my father, my father!' He blessed and comforted her, but, twice after he had moved on, she came back and hung about him, so that the guards themselves were in tears . . . On the 6th of July he was to die, early in the morning, within the Tower. He was his true self to the last, with the old playful humour and deep devotion. The scaffold was not firm, and he asked for help in mounting it: 'Master Lieutenant, give me thine hand, I pray thee, see me safe up; for my coming down let me shift for myself.' Then he knelt and prayed the *51st Psalm* most devoutly, and, as the executioner asked his pardon, he gave it him, telling him it was the greatest of services he was about to do him. Yet even then his last word was to ask leave to take his beard out of the way, 'since it was no traitor; it had never offended His Highness' . . . . Charles the Fifth was greatly shocked. He sent for the English Ambassador, and asked if it were true that

King Henry had put Sir Thomas More to death, adding: 'And this we will say, that if he had been ours, we would rather have lost the best city in our dominions than such a Councillor.'"

*Lady Jane Grey*, the Queen of ten days, and but sixteen years of age at her cruel death, found comfort in this Psalm. The only thing recorded of Lady Jane Grey concerning her husband at his execution was, "that Jane looked from her window as he walked by; then, an hour after, as he was carried back, a corpse, to the chapel. She then wrote on her tablets in French:—'If his slain body shall accuse me before men, his blessed soul shall vindicate me before God;' in Latin, 'Man's justice destroyed his body, God's mercy preserve his soul;' in English 'If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and inexperience were worthy of excuse; God and posterity will show me favour.' The using different languages probably was a relief, in the awful tension of spirits, in her condition. She gave these tablets to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydes, who came presently to lead her to the scaffold, which, on account of her royal descent, was erected within the Tower. She rose readily, and walked forth. She made a short speech, declaring that she had done wrong in consenting to Northumberland's scheme, but adding that it was none of her seeking, and desiring the prayers of those who stood around. Then she and Dr. Feckenham (Queen Mary's Chaplain) together repeated what they could join in, in their full hearts, *the Miserere*, and then the fair thoughtful young head was laid on the block and severed at one stroke."

We now have to record how this Psalm comforted two of the martyrs in Queen Mary's reign.

*John Rogers* was the first who, on the score of religion, was burnt at Smithfield. He had formerly, when chaplain to the factory at Antwerp, assisted Tyndall and Coverdale in translating the Bible into English, and in the reign of Edward VI. he returned to England and was made a Prebendary of S. Paul's Cathedral. He was degraded by Bishop Bonner of London, who stripped off, one by one, the priestly vestments. This fact is one well worth noticing, as it was an acknowledgment of the validity of Rogers' orders. All the priests ordained in King Edward VI.'s reign were treated as true priests, and it was not until two hundred years later, that the Church of Rome disputed the validity of English orders.

On his way to execution, singing the *Miserere*, he was met by his wife and their eleven children, and, with her he exchanged a few last words. At the stake, to which he was fastened with a chain, he was, for the last time, offered a free pardon if he would recant. This he refused to do, and he was burnt, bathing his hands in the flame "as if it had been in cold water."

*Rowland Taylor*, the good Vicar of Hadleigh, was the other martyr who found consolation in this Psalm at his last end. He was formerly Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, but on his presentation to the rectory of Hadleigh in Suffolk, he devoted himself to his duties as a Parish priest, and won the warmest love of his people by his saintly character. He was condemned and degraded by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and sent down to Hadleigh to die. The account of his last days is most touching, and, as a modern historian says, "the terror of death was powerless against men like these." As he was being led through the streets of London, his wife "suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away," had waited through the darkness with her children in the porch of S. Botolph's, beside Aldgate. "Now when the sheriff and his company came against S. Botolph's Church, Elizabeth cried saying, 'O my dear father! Mother! mother! here is my father led away!' Then cried his wife, 'Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?'—for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered; 'I am here, dear wife,' and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth but the sheriff said, 'Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife' Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms, and he and his wife and Elizabeth knelt down and said the Lord's Prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed he rose up and kissed his wife and shook her by the hand, and said, 'Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall still be a father to my children! . . . . Then said his wife, 'God be with thee, dear Rowland. I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadleigh.' . . . . All the way Dr. Taylor was merry and cheerful, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. . . . . Coming within two miles of Hadleigh, he desired to light off his horse, which done, he leaped and set a frisk or twain, as men commonly do for dancing. 'Why, Master Doctor,' quoth, the sheriff, 'how do you now?' He answered, 'Well, God be praised, Master Sheriff, never better; for now, I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house!' . . . The streets of Hadleigh were beset on both sides with men and women of the town and country who waited to see him; whom, when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices, they cried, 'Ah, good Lord! There goeth our good shepherd from us!'" The journey was at last over. "'What place is this,' he asked, 'and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered together?' It was

answered. "'It is Oldham Common,' the place where you must suffer, and the people are come to look upon you.' Then said he; 'Thanked be God, I am even at home!' . . . . But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears and cried, saying 'God save thee, good Dr. Taylor; God strengthen thee and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee!' He wished, but was not suffered to speak.

When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel which they had set for him to stand on, and so stood, with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together and his eyes towards heaven, and so let himself be burned." One of the executioners "cruelly cast a fagot at him, which hit upon his head and brake his face that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, 'O friend, I have harm enough—what needed that?'" He now began the *fifty-first Psalm* in English, and one of the guard struck him on the lips, bidding him speak Latin. After fire had been kindled, one man cleft his skull with a halberd, so that he fell dead, having hardly felt the flames. This martyr was the grandfather of Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor—the learned author of Holy Living and Holy Dying.

*Pierre du Terrail Bayard*, the *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, uttered the words of this Psalm in his death hour.

He was serving under Admiral Bonnivet in Italy against the Imperialists under the Constable de Bourbon. As the siege of Milan made no progress, the Admiral resolved to retreat upon Piedmont, and, as he was wounded, he gave up the command to Bayard, who was in the rear guard, fighting most bravely until, on the 30th of April 1524, near Romagnano, a stone from an arquebus struck him on the right side, fracturing the spine. His cry was "Jesus, my God, I am slain!", and lowering his sword, held up the cross-hilt before him. As he turned pale and reeled in the saddle, his friends came round and wanted to carry him out of the fight; but he said "It is all over with me, and I will not turn my back on the enemy at my death." He was then lifted from his horse and placed under a tree, begging that his face might still be towards the enemy.

His squire wept bitterly, but he comforted him, saying, "Jacques, my friend, cease to sorrow, it is God's will to take me from the world, where by His grace I have lived long enough, and I have received more honours and favours than belong to me. All my grief is for not having done my duty as well as I ought." As there was no priest near, he made

his last confession to his squire, and he then besought his friends to leave him, as the rapid motion was great pain to him, and he did not wish them to be taken prisoners. Much against their will, and with many tears, they did this, and the last they saw of him was with his cross-hilted sword before him, reciting the *Miserere*. The brave knight lived three hours after this, and died in peace in his 48th year, treated well by his enemies.

*Count Egmont*, the celebrated and patriotic Flemish noble, repeated this Psalm on his way to the scaffold. In one of her *Cameos from English History*, Miss Yonge thus describes the last hours of this distinguished patriot.

"Egmont was asleep in bed when the Bishop of Ypres came to him, and, unable to speak, gave him a copy of the order for his execution on the following day. Egmont was a brave man, and read the paper through without flinching, though in all his nine months' imprisonment he had never expected matters to end thus. He asked if there was no hope, and when convinced that there was none, he uttered some hot words of indignation at the cruel injustice of the sentence, and spoke of his wife and children. The Bishop advised him to put away all thoughts, save those of God and the unseen world, and he confessed. Mass was celebrated, and he received his last Communion, and asked afterwards what prayer he should say at the last. The Bishop said none was like the Lord's Prayer. The Count felt himself much comforted by these devotions, but a burst of bitter grief swept over him again as he thought of his wife and her little children; and when the Bishop tried to help him compose himself, he said—'Alas! how frail is our nature, that when we should think of God alone, we cannot shut out the thought of wife and children.' He wrote a dignified and loyal letter to the King, asserting his perfect innocence, and signing himself, 'Ready to die, His Majesty's very humble and loyal vassal and servant. . . . . D'Egmont. . . . . 'The great square at Brussels where Egmont had figured in many a grand procession, and excelled in many a tournament, was to be the place of his death. A scaffold stood there covered with black cloth, and on it a table with a silver crucifix and two velvet cushions near. It was guarded by three thousand Spanish soldiers who prevented any near approach, but the windows were thronged, and Alva himself was at one of them. At eleven o'clock Egmont came forth in a red damask dress and short black cloak, and a black silk hat with black and white feathers, repeating aloud the *Miserere*, and attended by the Bishop. He walked round the scaffold two or three times, and once more asked

if there was no hope of respite, and ground his teeth for a moment at the hard, dry, cold Spanish negative; but, recovering himself, he took off his cloak and hat, and gave up the Collar of the Golden Fleece, knelt on the cushion, said the Lord's Prayer aloud, and asked the Bishop to say it three times more. He stood once more, kissed the crucifix, drew a cap over his eyes, knelt, saying 'Lord into Thy hands I commend my spirit;' held out his arms for the signal, when the executioner swept off his head with a single stroke of the sword. Even Alva burst into tears, and so did some of the Spaniards who had known Egmont as a brave leader, while the French Ambassador whispered, that there fell the head before which his country had often trembled. Egmont's body was visited all that day and night, when it was placed in the Church of S. Clara, by thousands of people, who wept, kissed the corpse, and dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood."

*Mother Térèse de S. Augustin* (Madame Louise De France) Prioress of the Carmelite Convent of S. Denis, found comfort in this Psalm. Her bones were amongst those cast into the great pit by the Revolutionists in the first French Revolution when they desecrated the royal graves at S. Denis. Her biographer thus recounts her last hours:—

Sœur Raphael, returning very shortly, told the Mother that she might receive the Viaticum at once. At this announcement the dying Princess could not contain her joy: she thanked the sister warmly for keeping her promise, adding with her wonted humility, 'I will show my gratitude when I come to His presence if He deigns to have mercy upon me.' Sœur Raphael could not help exclaiming: 'Oh Mother, how happy you are to be so near Heaven, while we have to linger here on Earth!' 'All my hope is in God' the Mother answered. 'I will not forget you. But don't lose time, let everything be made ready that I may have the blessing of receiving my Lord.' Her confessor arrived speedily, but he still proposed to give her the Viaticum first, delaying Extreme Unction, as he did not think she was really so near death. When she was told that he had gone to the Church to fetch the Blessed Sacrament, her love and joy waxed even stronger, and she began to say the *Miserere*, asking her nurses to say it with her, as well as the Magnificat: she also repeated several times. 'In te Domine Speravi, non confundar in aeternum.' When the priest entered, bearing the Blessed Sacrament, she cried out: 'My Heavenly Kingdom has come. Oh, my God, it is very blessed to offer my life to Thee,' and then she received the longed for Viaticum with intense devotion and fervour.

*Mrs. Hannah More*, in her last illness (she died in 1833) found much comfort in the 51st Psalm. "Upon one occasion," says the faithful friend who was always about her dying bed, "in the early part of her illness I read to her the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Burial Service in the Book of Common Prayer. She was still and engaged, while I was reading, with her hands clasped in devotion. Some of the verses in the Psalms, after I had begun them, she would finish, exclaiming with rapture, 'How delightful, how sweet—delighting the taste and touching the heart.' The 51st Psalm was continually on her lips: 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right Spirit within me.'"

*Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, the great Florentine preacher and Reformer, during the interval that elapsed between the examinations of himself and his two companions, employed his time in writing short commentaries on the thirty-first and fifty-first Psalms, throwing all his old energy into its composition. It is worthy of note that the profligate Pope Alexander VI speaks of these three holy men as "those three sons of perdition."

*Bishop Blomfield* used this Psalm as his nightly prayer for many years previous to his death.

*Joseph Hadyn*, the musician, was once asked why his sacred music was so joyful, and he answered, that it was "because God was so good, that he would set the 51st Psalm in allegro!"

*Schuch*, the martyr of S. Hippolytus near Vosges, repeated this Psalm at the stake, until the smoke stifled his voice.

Verse 1.—*Miserere mei, Deus.*

Nearly every verse in this Psalm has its special history. *Henry Vaughan*, the poet, who departed this life in 1695, desired the following inscription should be placed on his tomb: *Servus inutilis, Peccator maximus, Hic jaceo Gloria! Miserere!*

*Dr. Carey*, the pioneer Indian Missionary, suffering from a dangerous illness, was asked: 'If this sickness should prove fatal, what passage would you select as the text of your funeral sermon?' He replied, 'Oh I feel that such a poor sinful creature as I is unworthy to have anything said about him; but if a funeral sermon should be preached, let it be from the fifty-first Psalm and first verse.'

• Lima, the capital of Peru, with Callao, its port-town, was completely desolated by an earthquake, October 28th, 1746. The city contained about three thousand inhabitants, of whom one only escaped. This solitary survivor, standing on a fort which overlooked the harbour, saw the sea retiring, then, in a mountainous surge, returning with awful violence,

and the inhabitants at the same instant returning from their houses in the utmost terror and confusion. He heard a cry ascending from all parts of the city,—*Miserere*; and instantly there was universal silence. The sea had overwhelmed the city. The same inundating wave drove a little boat near to the spectator, and by throwing himself into it he was saved.

The Lesser Litany at Morning Prayer. "Lord, have mercy upon us. Christ have mercy upon us. Lord, have mercy upon us," is a Christian version of the Synagogue Prayer taken from the first verse of this Psalm. It dates from the earliest period. The Greek form 'Kyrie Christe—Kyrie Eleison," each thrice, was retained in the Breviaries.

Verse 3.—*My sin is ever before me.*

*Robert Southwell*, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ten times racked and at last hanged, drawn, and quartered for the great crime of being a Priest in the Church of Rome—in his poem *S. Peter's Complaint*, illustrates this verse :—

> My guilty eye still seems to see my sin,
> All things are characters to spell my fall ;
> What eye doth see without, heart sees within,
> What heart doth see, to pensive thought is gall,
> Which when the thought would by the tongue digest,
> The ear conveys it back into the breast.

Verse 6.—*Behold! thou desirest truth in the inward parts:* With regard to the Christian character in relation to *self*, (says Bishop Alexander of Derry in *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*) as delineated in the Psalter, the deepest prayer for purity which the Minister of God is taught by the Church to utter is, 'Almighty God! unto whom all hearts be open *(cui omne, cor loquitur)* 'cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit.' Is even *that* more unequivocally a prayer referring to one of the most distinct claims of our Lord over our souls, than such verses as these in the Psalms :—

'Behold! Thou desired truth in the inward parts..... Create in me a clean heart, O God!... Search me, O God, and try my heart: know me and try my thoughts!

Verse 10.—*Make me a clean heart, O God: and renew a right spirit within me.*

*Louis de Bourbon*, the Grand Condé, was a life-long friend of Bossuet, and it was he who pronounced his funeral oration. Bossuet says: "The last moments are worthy of record, not because they were remarkable, but precisely because they were *not* so, and because there was nothing done or said for effect

by a Prince so well known to the world."—"Three times successively he asked for the last prayer for the dying, and, thanking his physicians, he turned to the priests standing by, and said: "These are now my best doctors." His Confessor said something of the need to ask God to mould his peoples' hearts, suggesting the prayer:—"*Make me a clean heart, O God.*" Condé remained awhile pondering deeply, and then, turning to the priest, he said: "I never had any religious doubts, whatever people may have said; but now" he went on, "I believe more than ever. All the great mysteries of the faith grow clearer and clearer to my mind. Yes, indeed, we shall see God as He is, face to face;" and he repeated again and again, fondly dwelling on them, the Latin words, "Sicuti est, facie ad faciem."

When *Sir Walter Raleigh* had laid his head upon the block, he was asked by the executioner whether it lay right. Whereupon, with the calmness of a hero and the faith of a true Christian, he replied: "It matters little, my friend, how the head lies, provided the *heart is right.*"

Verses 10 and 11.—*Make me a clean heart, O God: and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from Thy presence: and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me.*

In the Eastern Church, during the Prayer of Consecration, these words are recited by the Priests and Deacons.

Verse 12.—*O give me the comfort of Thy help again: and stablish me with Thy free Spirit.* The following is the last entry in the diary of *Dr. Arnold*: "Saturday evening, June 11th—The day after to-morrow is my birthday, if I am permitted to live to see it—my forty-seventh birthday since my birth. How large a portion of my life on earth is already passed. And then—what is to follow this life? How visibly my outward work seems contracted and softened away into the gentler employment of old age. In one sense, how nearly can I now say 'Vixi,' and I thank God, that as far as ambition is concerned, it is, I trust, fully mortified; I have no desire other than to step back from my present place in the world and not to rise to a higher. Still there are works that, with God's permission, I would do before the night cometh! especially the great work, if I might be permitted to take part in it. But after all let me mind my own personal work—to keep myself pure and zealous to the last—labour to do God's will, yet not anxious that it should be done by me rather than by others, if God disapprove of my doing it."

It was between five and six on Sunday morning that he awoke with a sharp pain upon the chest, which he mentioned to his wife on her asking whether he felt well;—adding, that he had

felt it sightly on the preceding day before and after bathing. He then again composed himself to sleep; but her watchful care, always anxious even to nervousness at the least indication of illness, was at once awakened, for finding from him that the pain increased and that it seemed to pass from his chest to his left arm, her alarm was so much roused from a remembrance of having heard of this in connection with Angina Pectoris and its fatal consequences, that in spite of his remonstrances, she rose and called up an old servant whom they usually consulted in cases of illness, from her having so long attended the sick bed of his sister Susannah. Reassured by her confidence that there was no ground for fear, but still anxious, Mrs. Arnold returned to his room. She observed him, as she was dressing herself, lying still, but with his hands clasped, his lips moving, and his eyes raised as if engaged in prayer; when all at once he repeated firmly and earnestly, "And Jesus said unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen thou hast believed; blessed are they who have not seen and yet have believed," and soon afterwards, with a solemnity of manner and depth of utterance which spoke more than the words themselves, "But if ye be without chastisement whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons." From time to time he seemed to be in severe suffering. The more than usual earnestness which marked his tone and manner, especially in repeating the verses from scripture, had again roused her worst fears; and she advised messengers to be sent for medical assistance, which he at first requested her not to do, from not liking to disturb, at that early hour, the usual medical attendant, who had been suffering from indisposition. She then took up the prayer book and was looking for a psalm to read to him, when he said quickly, "*The fifty-first*"—which she accordingly read by his bedside, reminding him at the 7th verse, that it was the favourite verse of one of the old almswomen whom he was in the habit of visiting; and, at the 12th verse, "*O give me the comfort of Thy help again, and stablish me with Thy free spirit,*" he repeated it after her very earnestly. She then read the prayer on the "Visitation of the Sick," beginning "The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower," etc; knelt herself at the foot of the bed, and altering it into a common prayer for them both." His son had now entered the sick room, together with his physician, Dr. Bucknill. Meanwhile his wife, who still had sounding in her ears the tone in which he had repeated the passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, again turned to the Prayer Book and began to read the Exhortation, in which it occurs in the Visitation of the Sick. He listened with deep attention, saying emphatically—"Yes," at the end of many

of the sentences. "There should be no greater comfort to Christian persons, than to be made like unto Christ"—"Yes." "By suffering patiently, adversities, troubles, and sicknesses"—"Yes," "He entered not into His glory before He was crucified"—"Yes." At the words "everlasting life" she stopped—and his son said—"I wish, dear papa, we had you at Fox How," (where five of his children were staying, and where he expected to spend the holidays.) He made no answer, but the last conscious look which remained fixed in his wife's memory, was the look of intense tenderness and love with which he smiled upon them both at that moment. Thus died, as we would die, one of the noblest and manliest of Christian men.

Verse 13.—*Then shall I teach Thy ways unto the wicked: and sinners shall be converted unto Thee.*

One (*S. Augustine*) who was himself a notable example of the grace of God in converting a sinner into a teacher, cites this verse against the Donatists, who like the Novatians, censured the discipline of the Church as too easy in the re-instatement of the lapsed, and he did but follow in the steps of a far earlier Christian writer (the author of the Apostolic Constitutions) who quotes the immediately preceding verses of the Psalm in the same sense.

Verse 14.—*Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God.*

At length came the fatal 30th of January (1649) and King Charles attended by Bishop Juxon, walked to the scaffold and said: "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side, I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world!"

There was one of the King's loyal subjects who, we may well believe, envied Bishop Juxon his privilege of attendance on his master to the last, and that was Bishop Wren, who had been with him in bright early days when, as Prince of Wales, he had accompanied him on his romantic journey to Spain, who, when the weight of the crown first came upon the Prince's head, had accompanied him on the journey to Scotland for his coronation at Scone, and who since then had been so trusted by him.

Bishop Wren, at the time of the King's murder, was in the Tower, where he had been since 1641 for loyalty to King Charles. He was released by General Monck in 1660, after an imprisonment of 18 years. When the news of the martyr's death first reached the faithful Bishop, no word of his own grief, of his unavailing longing to see his King once more, and once more kiss his hand, is expressed in the brief record in his diary! It is simply '*A sanguinibus O Deus!*'

Verse 15.—*Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord: and my mouth shall show Thy praise.*

The Versicles and the Doxology at Morning Prayer which have been used from the 6th Century, at least as a commencement of Nocturns in the West, are taken from Psalms li, 15, and lxxi. This verse also occurs in the early part of the Greek Morning Office.

Verse 17.—*A broken and a contrite heart, O God, shalt Thou not despise.* On one occasion when Whitfield was preaching at Exeter, a man was present who had his pockets full of stones in order to fling them at the preacher. He heard his prayer, however, with patience ; but no sooner had he named his text, than the man pulled a stone out of his pocket and held it in his hand waiting for a fair opportunity to throw. But God willed otherwise, and sent a sword to the man's heart, so that the stone dropped from his hand. After the sermon was over, he went to Mr. Whitfield and told him : " Sir, I came to hear you this day with a view to break your head, but the spirit of the Lord, through your ministry, has given me a *broken heart.*"

Verse 18.—*O be favourable and gracious unto Sion : build thou the walls of Jerusalem. Henry Vth of England*, 'the most Christian champion of the Church,' just before his death revised his will, adding legacies to his faithful friends and servants ; and then demanded of his physicians how long they thought his time would yet be. They avoided reply till he exerted that resolute will which none had resisted ; and then, one of them, kneeling down by his bed, said : " Sir, think of your soul, for without a miracle, in our judgment, you have not two hours to live." His confessor was present, and he devoutly received the last sacraments ; and when they were ended, desired that they would recite the penitential psalms. All this time he lay still until when, in the fifty-first psalm they came to the verse '*Build Thou the walls of Jerusalem*', he interrupted them to say : " I protest in the faith of a dying king, that, had it pleased the Lord God to lengthen my life, it was my full purpose, after restoring peace to France, to have gone forth against the Infidels, and to have delivered Jerusalem from their tyranny." He then bade them proceed ; and soon after the close of the last psalm, passed away in sleep, on the morning of the 31st of August 1422.

Verse 19—*Then shall they offer young bullocks upon thine altar.* In the Eastern Church, at the veiling of the elements, as the priest censes them, he repeats these words.

Thus there has passed before us a great and varied host, all testifying to the value and excellency of the *Miserere*,

Fathers and Saints of the undivided Church; Kings and Queens; Martyrs and Confessors; Warriors and Patriots; Bishops, Priests and Religious; the Catholic Church, Roman, Greek, Armenian and Anglican; commentators, Catholic and Protestant, ancient and modern; courtiers, scholastics and musicians have but one voice, and that the voice of praise, thanksgiving and testimony for this Psalm.

We would finish with the beautiful words of the eloquent Bishop Alexander of Derry, on what our feelings should be with regard to the Psalms in general :—" If we have no sympathy with their tenderness or severity, their penitence or joy, their words of prediction or invitations to prayer;—if all their sighs for Passion-tide and their songs for Easter touch no responsive chords in our souls;—if the Divine Hero of the Messianic Psalms speaks to us from the Cross and from the Throne, and we are deaf alike to His pathos and His Majesty; —then we may doubt whether our character is moulded after the type of saints, whether all is well with us. More than fifty generations of Christian believers bear witness that, when we sing the Psalms with fair weather in the soul, we still hear sweet voices from distant hills, and the soft sighing of an eternal sea flows towards the spot on which we stand."

A. SAUNDERS DYER, M. A.

*Darjeeling.*

## ART. IV.—THE BEHAR RYOT AT HOME.

AN enervating climate, ignorance of the people's habits, and an imperfect knowledge of the various dialects, have deterred Europeans, as a rule, from any attempt to collect really accurate information about village life in India. During two years of official life spent in Behar, I have done what I could to learn something of the way the masses live. A passion for shooting has often carried me far from clerks and chuprassis, and my isolation has tempted many to give vent to their grievances, and afforded many opportunities for enquiries about the crops and other matters of every day village life. Unless confidence is inspired (and this is not common; each Magistrate acquires for good or evil a reputation which will hardly leave him) the suspicious peasants, fearful of an increased income-tax, larger cesses, or dearer salt, will intentionally baffle any questioner by transparent falsehoods or an obstinate silence. The numerous indigo factories, although generally well managed, are the cause of many agrarian disputes owing to disagreements of managers with their landlords, the cultivators, or one another. It becomes, therefore, frequently necessary for the Magistrate to hold local enquiries, whereat the absence of legal formalities makes the parties more communicative, and their habits of thought and life more easily intelligible. During my two years it was my duty to reappoint the village committees of three or five men who, under an Act of 1870, are required for a prescribed term to collect and distribute in each village the pay of the local watchman. In reality, this statute was an attempt to preserve and give some sort of sanction to an ancient form of village government, and, as a matter of fact, these committees, which are, or should be, composed of the headmen of the place, decide all petty disputes and matters that may be susceptible of arbitration. A triennial revision has, by law, to be carried out by a Magistrate on the spot, and, in consequence, I have had occasion to visit many villages and acquaint myself with the character and position of their influential men. Sometimes the landlord or his agent, sometimes the priest or shop-keeper, more often the baniya or local banker, is too powerful, and it becomes necessary to prevent a despotism rarely beneficial, by appointing as his colleagues several of his strongest opponents. Unlike Bengal proper, the office subordinates are generally natives of the same or neighbouring districts, and, as a rule, are tenants or

landlords in several villages. I have always found some of them both able and willing to give much information, and have frequently checked by this means what I have gathered from other sources. It has, I hope, been sufficiently indicated in these prefatory remarks that the conditions under which the facts about to be set forth have been collected were somewhat favourable.

It may not be out of place, before going into details, to remark that the growth of population has been greater in the Durbhunga District (amounting to 23·09 per cent.) since the census of 1872, than in any other part of Bengal. Inasmuch as the northern part of the district is somewhat sparsely inhabited, it may therefore be confidently asserted that Tajpur is more densely populated than any other portion of the province. * This density of population is also coincident with a more backward state of education than exists elsewhere, out of the hill tracts of Chittagong, and it is these considerations that make an examination of the Tajpur figures the more interesting and instructive.

The basis for my figures has been three village rent-rolls which I have obtained through the kindness of several planters. The villages were selected as typical of their neighbourhood, and the details checked with the aid of the village accountant and local headmen. To determine the position of the Behar ryot is a problem of extreme complexity. It is necessary to ascertain, not merely his recorded rent, but what he actually pays, to estimate the fertility of his land, the outturn of his crops with their straw, the profit from grass and fisheries, the price of milk and other dairy produce, and the gains from subsidiary industries so varied as weaving, hair-cutting, grocery, grain-lending, and midwifery. On the other hand, his expenditure is regulated, not so much by his means as his rank, caste, and the number of his household. Many of the principles of political economy, and much of the machinery and conditions of European life, are absent. A man's trade, if he has one, is determined by his ancestry, not his inclination or personal fitness; his expenditure at his daughter's marriage, or parent's funeral, is regulated, not by his means, but by the scale common to his caste, and, as a rule, is entirely at variance with what prudence would suggest. The quality of the clothes he wears and the ornaments he bestows on his womenkind are chosen on the same principles. Payments on account of many of his daily wants are often made in grain at harvest time, and at a

* NOTE.—In 1881 Saran, which contains the densest population, had 869·71 to the square mile, while Durbhunga, with Mozufferpur, had only forty-five persons less.

conventional rate. Every peasant, as in Ireland, must have land, and, being generally averse to a change, insists on taking it near his homestead; often, therefore, he will agree to a rent he knows he can never pay.

The lengthy tables given in the appendix require some explanatory remarks. When a man, resident in the village, has cultivation in another, the rent for his outlying land has not been given, when it could not be ascertained with precision. It might be anything from two rupees to sixteen rupees a bigha. The amount of back rent due is not an entirely reliable test of the cultivator's position. The high castes pay irregularly, and sometimes not at all. They are rarely sued, as the amounts are not large, and the landlord or lessee finds it bad policy to quarrel with influential villagers: frequently they pay at lower rates than inferior castes are giving for the same quality of land. Such anomalies are due possibly to a distant kinship with the landowner, or to the fact that he finds he cannot, as is the general custom, illegally raise the rent against men always ready to fight for their rights. Nor is it safe to assume, when a man of high caste pays a low rate of rent, that he is better off than the Kaweri,* for his pride does not permit him to break up the earth, or plough, himself. In consequence, he is driven to employ hired labour—a material expense where the margin of profit is so narrow. Men of the intermediate castes do not labour for hire unless obliged, and never more than is necessary to keep them out of want. They are peculiarly badly off in years of scarcity, when real wages are low and work difficult to obtain.

An ordinary daily wage for a grown man is one anna, or two and a half seers of any grain (indigo factories pay rather higher rates): here, also, this sweeping statement must be accepted with some qualification. A landlord can obtain labour at this rate from his own tenants or those of a friend. A planter can sometimes do so also, owing to the fact that the labourer may owe him back rent, or hold his land on an insecure title. As a rule he pays a little higher, for people of the country prefer to work for their neighbours, or landlords, rather than for Europeans, who insist on a larger outturn of work and regular hours of attendance. On the other hand, the Public Works Department pay at least double these rates under their contract system for mending roads. These payments, however, do not represent the normal price for labour, inasmuch as they are due to inefficient and corrupt supervision by subordinates. If there were such a thing as a demand for labour from an outside employer, the probable rate at which he could generally

* *Note.*—The Kaweris are the cultivating caste.

obtain it would be about one and a half annas a day, During the rice harvest the day labourers travel from village to village, cutting crops as they ripen. They are paid with one sheaf out of every sixteen cut and deposited at the owner's yard. A smart man can earn by this means about eight sheaves (roughly five seers) in the day. It is not uncommon for whole families to go northwards to the immense tracts of rice cultivation under the Himalayas, and come back after a month or so with as much grain as as they can conveniently transport.

All trees of any commercial value are assessed for rent. The *toddy* palm, which arrives at maturity in about twenty years, is usually rented at two annas yearly, and the profit derivable from tapping it and weaving mats from its leaves is about ten annas. The bael tree begins to bear when nine years old, and in an ordinary season bears one hundred to two hundred and fifty large oval fruit. The natives eat it and find it nutritious, but to the European the taste is not palatable. When almost ripe its juice is made into a cool sherbet, which is a specific for stomachic disorders. It is customary for the landlord to take fifty per cent. of the fruit as his share, together with a further five per cent. for the trouble of making the division—an unjustifiable exaction, as the value is always assessed at a conventional and fixed rate of one pice for each fruit. The product of the jack and mohwa trees (the latter of which gives a flower from which country wine is largely distilled) are estimated at current prices, whilst the landlord takes the same fifty-five per cent. as his share. Two or three kinds of grasses are grown to provide material for weaving mats or thatching houses. A bigha of thatching grass will sell standing for rupees seven to rupees twelve. The Government revenue may be taken roughly at two rupees and the average profit therefore at seven and a half rupees. It is hardly possible to charge anything against this profit, except a small share of the remuneration of the watchman who guards the whole acreage under grass. If the grass be let to a tenant the profit can be estimated in detail. An ordinary outturn for a bigha is six bundles, while each contain sixteen smaller ones. Cutting and cartage come to about two rupees. The cost of the former is estimated in this way. A man cuts about one cottah (one-twentieth of a bigha) a day, and is paid at the rate of three seers of Indian corn daily, besides one seer given to him for his mid-day meal. The value of four seers is about eight country pice, and the total cost is therefore about one rupee ten annas. The grass is worth about one rupee a small bundle; rent may be taken at about four rupees and the resultant profit, deducting six annas cartage, at nine rupees eight annas. 'Julkur,' or the right to catch fish and net birds on large marshes,

is leased to men of the fishing caste, and the profit of the industry is roughly twenty-five per cent. more than the rent.

Cattle play an important part in household economy, but possession of them is not a reliable index to the position of their owner, unless several other circumstances are taken into account. To high caste families accustomed to drink milk, a buffalo is a social necessity; they will keep one although heavily in debt. On the other hand, with humbler castes, cattle are a sign of prosperity and a source of profit. They sell the milk, ghee or butter—an act beneath the dignity of a needy Brahmin. A certain number of bullocks are necessary for the proper cultivation of a holding, and therefore a man renting a large acreage must have several, whereas the possession of two with a little land indicates a certain degree of comfort. It is a common custom with the poorer cultivators to keep one bullock and borrow another at the ploughing season, the understanding being that the borrower will similarly lend his when occasion arises. The cost of a cow is from seven rupees to twelve rupees. It is usually covered at three years of age, and will give an average of a seer of milk a day for six months only, as it is customary to have it served again three to five months after parturition. A young female calf sells for two to four rupees, and a bull calf for eight to fifteen. Milk fetches a rupee for ten to twelve seers, but adulteration is generally practised. Half a chittack of ghee, worth half an anna, can be obtained from a seer of milk, and the residue is worth about one *lohia* pice.* If butter is required, nearly a chittack is churned from one seer of milk. A fine draught bullock will fetch forty to fifty rupees. A buffalo costs rather more: the cow will give seven to eight seers of milk daily for seven months which is worth about one anna a seer, and will yield one and three quarter chittacks of ghee worth about the same. Female calves are not sold, but a bull calf is worth four rupees to five rupees. The keep of a cow is about two rupees to two rupees eight annas a month; that of a buffalo is rather more. These figures are really a rough estimate of the value of the food given, together with the wages of a child to tend them, and represent the sum which an owner would have to pay a stranger to look after his cattle during his absence. In reality cattle are usually pastured on rice stubble, waste lands, flanks of roads, an unfriendly neighbour's crops, or the standing indigo of some European planter.

A plough costs about one rupee, and a poor cultivator will hire it out for two annas a day. Only the prosperous have

* Six lohia pice are the equivalent of one anna.

carts, as they are somewhat costly : a good one cannot be made for less than twenty rupees. To the planter a large number for bringing in his cut indigo from a scattered cultivation is an absolute necessity, and any hitch or difficulty in procuring carriage at the height of the manufacturing season means ruin. He is, therefore, not only in the habit of making contracts with individual ryots to ply carts, but is also ready to advance money free of interest to the more needy to buy them, on condition that the loan is worked out by carting his indigo at a fixed rate. At the end of each season the account is cast up and the balance due paid. By this means a cultivator is often enabled to finance his rent and hoard his crop for a rising market instead of being forced to sell it disadvantageously to the local money lender.

A difficult question to determine is the amount of labour required to work a given holding to the best advantage. It is impossible, without a protracted enquiry, to find out exactly the quality of land held by each tenant ; yet without this information all the considerations I have mentioned will not be sufficient to enable the position of each cultivator to be gauged with precision. To illustrate my meaning, a bigha of tobacco requires the constant attention of two men who could comfortably look after five times the quantity of rice cultivation. Between these two extremes lie castor-oil plant, linseed, mustard, chillies and opium (all requiring high cultivation), and the ordinary cereals, such as maize, millet, wheat, barley and oats. As is well known, an indefinitely larger outturn can be obtained from the same land by the application of more labour. This is particularly true in Behar, where the cultivators are of one household with a common interest. When the professional cultivating class have a large holding, a numerous family is not a hindrance, but a source of profit: the children tend the cattle and do the weeding, while their mothers work with the men. If a Rajput, Babhan, or Brahmin have a large family, there are simply more mouths to feed and fewer hands to work: their womenkind do not work out of doors, and they will not, from caste pride, dig or till themselves.

Subsidiary industries are, as a rule, hereditary and confined to the several castes. The most important is that of the priest. Of these there are many sub-castes, and the position of each caste in the social scale determines the sub-caste of the priest who shall minister to it. In every village where the number of any caste is large, or the members have split into factions, there will be several priests, who will each have their allotted households. As a rule, a family keeps to the priest who ministered to its forefathers, and the desertion of him is an unmistakable indication of some caste feud. At a funeral he will get four to

ten rupees and a cloth or quilt; at a marriage somewhat less. When one of the twice-born castes is invested with the holy thread (the badge of his nobility), a present is given. A few rupees can be earned by reciting at parties long extracts from sacred authors.

At a funeral or marriage the barber gets about a sixteenth of what the priest receives, and is usually given a cloth. For hair-cutting, shaving, and paring the finger and toe nails, each man pays him five seers* of grain at every harvest; and he is also permitted, when the crop has been cut and carried, to take away a sheaf which will contain roughly about eighteen seers. A dyer will charge two *lohia* pice for dyeing a yard of cloth to any shade of blue; rose colour costs a pice less and yellow a pice more. The blue is obtained by mixing indigo with lime, the rose from safflower, and the yellow from turmeric. During the marriage season the demand is brisk, and he can earn from three to eight annas a day. The caste is not a large one. A single household will be employed by several villages, and the members are often well-to-do. The weaver throughout Northern India is pauperized. Manchester cloth and machine-made stuffs can be had in the poorest bazar, and at prices that defy the competition of the native hand-looms. The great majority no longer follow their caste occupation, but cultivate small patches, labour for hire, or turn professional thieves. A good workman can make about seven yards of cloth in five days, for which he will get about four annas; the thread is given him, and he is allowed by custom to retain $\frac{1}{9}$th of it as a perquisite. With the thread he saves, and the little he can afford to buy, he weaves cloth, which he sells ready-made at the rate of two annas a yard. As a cultivator he is skilful and hard-working, but his holding is usually small and of inferior land, and his rent high. Having taken to cultivation late, through the stress of European competition consequent on the extension of railway systems and improved water communications, he has been obliged to lease, at rates unhallowed by prescription, land that was lying waste, or had been thrown up by bankrupt ryots. A dhobi gets four seers every harvest for washing a woman's clothes; men usually wash their own dhoti and gumcha when they bathe, and only require the dhobi's services for getting up their pirans, or chupkans, if they intend appearing at festivals. On these occasions they pay cash and give food also, if their children's clothes are attended to. His wife is given a small present at a birth, and a cloth at a marriage. Washing a dead man's clothes is an extra, and specially paid for.

* When a seer is spoken of it must be understood to mean 2 lbs. of unhusked grain.

A mahout's wages are two rupees eight annas a month and his food. They are usually Mahammedans, but the calling is not considered lucrative, for most land-owners prefer to employ men from Sylhet who, though they ask higher wages, are far more courageous.

Every carpenter has his circle within which he is employed. A household possessing one plough will pay him twenty seers every harvest, and for this he is expected to execute any ordinary repairs to the agricultural implements or the house. If more than one plough is possessed the scale of remuneration rises proportionately. At a marriage he erects a platform for the child-bride and bridegroom to sit on, and is given a present varying from four annas to a rupee. At a funeral he makes a bed for the family priest. On both occasions, if his employer be poor, the remuneration is less, and the platform and bed are not full size, but models.

The chamar, who only ranks above the sweeper caste and aboriginal races in the social system, has several occupations. He is the boot-maker of the village, and his prices are not exorbitant, ranging as they do from four lohia pice to eight annas. At a Hindu wedding the bride requires new shoes, and the payment is more liberal, varying from two annas to a rupee. The music for the occasion is also provided by him in the form of beating very noisy drums. At a fashionable wedding he will get a rupee or more. Government notifications of local interest, proclamations of criminals evading arrest, and other forms of legal process are made by beat of drum and help to swell his earnings, which his wife supplements as a midwife. For a female child safely delivered the fee is two annas, for a male double. Every night that her presence is required, food is provided, consisting usually of a chupatti and a seer of grain. The chamars get their leather for nothing—it is the custom for them to parcel out the village area into districts within which each household has a right to all the skins thrown on to village waste land. Owners of cattle being unable from caste prejudice to sell the hides of a sacred animal, are only too glad to waive their claims, on the condition that the carcasses are quickly removed. An ingenious Mohammedan at Dacca, finding the Hindus unwilling to sell skins, got over the difficulty by giving those who supplied him a pair of shoes for nothing. Something has already been said of the milkman, when speaking of live stock, and but little more can be added. Near a large city, or line of rail, many can be seen of an early morning bringing in (much in the fashion of the English milkman) earthen jars full of milk, butter, curds or whey. The last is used extensively in the preparation of sweetmeats, of which the well-to-do classes

consume large quantities, both as delicacies, and as the midday meal. At every suburban station near Calcutta, numbers come ladened with this whey, carried in wicker baskets, which they deposit in a van set aside exclusively for this purpose. Formerly the men were allowed to travel with them, now the ingenious device is adopted by each man of putting a peculiar kind of leaf in his own baskets, which enables him to identify them at the other end of his journey.

Every other village or so will have a petty shop for groceries. Vegetables and tobacco are procurable at markets. Womens' ornaments, clothes, and the few European articles in common use—matches, mirrors, combs, umbrellas and drinking glasses—are to be bought at the nearest town. In Bengal the fishmonger is the widow of the jhaliya, who drives hard bargains with her customers under some shady tree in the village precincts.

The rustic policeman has already been mentioned, but besides him there are the landlord's watchman and others who are paid in kind by groups of cultivators to look after their crops. If a river passes close by, there will be a ferryman, who is paid by a stipulated wage, or according to a regular tariff, or, failing either, in kind at every harvest.

Perhaps the poorest of all castes is the Nonia, which occupies itself in making or refining saltpetre. Various licenses are given by Government for permitting the manufacture of coarse or refined saltpetre, the making of salt itself being a Government monopoly. The refineries are scattered all over the districts, and inasmuch as little manipulation is required to change the refuse left from saltpetre manufacture into salt, a large detective staff is kept up, and the door left gaping for extensive corruption. According to the peasantry, the oppression is so great, and the bribes demanded are so extortionate, that numerous families have been driven to seek other employment, while others have sunk to the level of agricultural labourers.

In every village, or cluster of villages, there is an accountant nominated by the landlord, but dismissable by Government, who keeps an account of the rents and cesses due by the tenants. He will sometimes get a little private work by writing the letters of illiterate neighbours or casting up the grocer's books. Occasionally he is the bane of the locality—a tout for litigants, who foments quarrels, and promotes cases in order to earn a small commission paid by the lowest class of pleaders for bringing them clients.

The money lender has been reserved as the last for notice, as he is usually the person of greatest consequence next to the landlord. Sometimes he is the landlord, but more often one of the regular money-lending castes. He lends in grain as

well as money. The terms are high : grain lent in kind has to be repaid in harvest time in kind with twenty-five to fifty per cent. more. Money is frequently lent on short loans at 1 anna per rupee a month, that is to say, at the yearly rate of seventy-five per cent. When lent in large amounts on a stamped bond the rate varies from twelve to thirty per cent.

Though his terms are the reverse of moderate, his presence is by no means an unmixed evil. The majority of the villagers will owe him something and make use of his services as a banker. Their grain is kept by him, and he will frequently finance them through bad seasons when they would otherwise be in great distress from their habits of improvidence. When once, however, they are in his power, it is difficult for them to extricate themselves, and they are compelled to sell their grain to him at rates considerably lower than those obtaining in the nearest bazar.

Although many villagers have dealings with a money-lender, and most of them are in debt, it is not correct to infer that they are necessarily in embarrassed circumstances. Some find it convenient to borrow cash when their rents are due, if the price of their grain just harvested is likely to rise, while others will do so, although the mud-floor of their hut cover a lotah lined with rupees. The feeling, no doubt, is that a loan can be easily liquidated, while savings once spent are sometimes not replaced.

So far I have refrained from touching upon considerations affecting expenditure in the monotonous enumeration of the various subsidiary trades, industries and professions.

The more wealthy live in houses made of country brick, the very poor live in mat huts, whilst the bulk of the population inhabit houses built of wet mud, which cakes when dry into one solid mass. Repairs are carried out before the rains, and vary in cost from eight annas for making a single room water-tight to forty to fifty rupees, which will suffice to re-thatch the roof, and put all the various out-houses and granaries of a prosperous peasant into thorough order.

A woman of the lowest class will wear from five to ten rupees worth of ornaments, which are generally made of brass or bell-metal. The poorer of the cultivating class wear from ten to twenty rupees worth. The nose ring is usually of gold, the bracelets of lac, and the tikuli or forehead ornament of talc. The wife of a prosperous ryot will wear gold and silver finery to the value of one hundred rupees or so, and the husband will sometimes wear rings. It is, however, an error to suppose that these ornaments are frequently purchased. On attaining old age, or on losing her husband, a woman leaves off wearing them, and they pass as legacies to a near youthful

member of the family, or by marriage into the possession of another.

The lowest of these three classes will spend about twenty-five rupees at a marriage and ten rupees at a *sradh*; the next will spend about double, while the third will think little of squandering five hundred rupees at a marriage, and from three hundred to four hundred at a *sradh*.

Cultivators, as a rule, eat two meals a day, besides a very light one in the early morning. In the case of the very low castes, this early meal consists of the leavings from the supper of the previous day. The higher castes live, as a rule, upon parched Indian-corn or some other millet, while the ordinary cultivator eats whatever is in season. The more prosperous will eat rice. A grown man will take, in the course of the day, about 2 seer of Indian-corn, or less, if it is made up into *chapaties*. If his food be rice, the daily quantum is about one seer, together with one-eighth of a seer of dâl; if marooa, it will be two seers; if alwa, five seers: whatever it is, a pinch of salt, costing about one-sixth of a lohia pice, will be taken with it. The tables given in the appendix were drawn up on the following lines: Each entry in the rent-roll was taken; where the same person appeared in another entry the land, rent, and arrears entered against him in the second entry were cut out and added to those given in the first.* In some cases the person under whose name the holding stood was dead or not forthcoming. Enquiry was then made from the villagers, the amlah, and the putwari, and the correct name given: when it was not known, the relationship has been entered. The details of live-stock owned by each household were given to me with a fair degree of accuracy by a number of villagers. 'Pahi' cultivation, that is to say, land held in another village, and its rent, have been shown, where ascertainable, in a separate column, but they have also been included in the columns giving the total land and rent of each household. Similarly, any payments due on account of 'sairat' are shown separately and in the rent column. This column also contains all dues payable to the landlord for fisheries, or for permission to keep a shop or a dairy. When the exact amount due on these accounts is known, it is also entered in the column for remarks. If any members of a household have been found to be following a trade or profession, or to have entered domestic service, the fact has been recorded. Details as to the circumstances of the house holders and their numbers were gathered from some of the villagers. I selected the more intelligent of several castes and cross questioned them. When a Kaweri or Goala was

* The acreage under indigo and the rental paid for it has been omitted from the rent roll.

inclined to be reticent about his nephew's or son's young wife, the Babhan or Rajput promptly supplied the omission, and the former frequently retaliated in kind, or by affording some information not palatable to the other concerning the financial position of his relatives. It is probable, however, in spite of the trouble taken, that the figures given relating to the women and children of each household are smaller than the facts warrant. As regards the men, I do not think they are so inaccurate. Behar is over-populated, although the higher castes are not increasing in numbers, and the Mahommedans are far from prolific: the increase is mainly among the Kaweris and Goalas, who are fairly well off, or among the lowest classes, who, having nothing to lose, recognize no prudential check to multiplication. It has not been thought desirable to correct these figures by reference to other sources of information; to have done so would have been to alter the character of this essay, which is only an attempt to set forth, however imperfectly, facts observed during a microscopic study of the conditions of life in a very limited area. The result of my tables has been summarized in the following statement: for its purposes the rent of Pahi cultivation, when unknown, was estimated at an average of three rupees a bigha:—

| 190 Households. | | | | Cattle. | | | | Holding. | | | Total of Rent. ‡ | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male. | | Female. | | Cart bullocks. | Draught bullocks. | Cows. † | Buffalos. | b. | c. | d. | r. | a. | p. |
| a. | c | a. | c. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 502 | 137 | 427 | 102 | 132 | 22 | 81 | 28 | 666 | 19 | 3 | 2394 | 1 | 10 |

To indulge those who prefer generalisations upon insufficient data, it may be said that the average household is composed of three men, two women and two children, holds three bighas twelve cottahs of land, pays three rupees eleven annas rent, and owns besides a bullock, a cow or a buffalo.

*Note.—The total of these four columns differs from the addition of columns 5 to 17 of the detailed tables by 190, because the entries in column 2 of the detailed tables are not included in column 14 to 17.

† Note—Calves excluded.

‡ This total has been arrived at thus—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total of column 12 for the three villages .. .. .. | ... | 2,293 | 13 4 |
| Add rent of 8 biggahs 10 cottahs pahi in first village .. .. | | 241 | 14 0 |
| Deduct rent for sairat and grass when separable... .. .. | | 73 | 0 11½ |
| Deduct entries 45, 101 and 102 of first and entry 4 of second village .. | | 68 | 8 6 |

In Mozufferpore, during the experimental survey and record of existing rents conducted by Mr. Collin, and extending over eighty-eight square miles, it was found that the average holding of a ryot was three acres, which is, as near as may be, the same figure that I arrived at, *viz.*, three bighas twelve cottahs. The average rate of rent was found in the above area to be about three rupees ten annas an acre, whereas my figure is three rupees eleven annas a bigha: an average, however, of this kind possesses little value, unless the quality of the land be ascertained and the rate in any case varies enormously. From general observation, I am disposed to think that three rupees eight annas is about the average amount per bigha paid by the ryots within the parts where I was stationed, and this does not widely differ from that recorded by Mr. Collin in the adjacent district.

To illustrate the position of the ryot, and all that has here been written, an analysis has been made in detail, showing the ways and means of an average household. Its holding has already been stated to be three bighas and twelve cottahs of land. This may be taken to consist of two bighas of upland, and the rest suitable for rice cultivation. The high land can be sown with two crops, and the low land with one, with a small after-crop of linseed and khesari. The following estimate has been made of the probable outturn. As it is insufficient to feed a household of three men, two women, and two children, the further amount required has been added in the right hand columns:—

*Quantity of food produced and consumed.*

| Production. | | | | Consumption. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mds. | Seers | Chittacks. | | Mds. | Seers. | | Mds. | Seers. |
| Jankerai ... | 9 | 0 | 0 | Jankerai .. | 9 | 0 | + | 3 | 22 |
| Makai ... | 8 | 0 | 0 | Makai ... | 8 | 0 | + | 7 | 27 |
| Marua ... | 4 | 0 | 0 | Marua ... | 4 | 0 | + | 2 | 11 |
| Alua ... | 37 | 20 | 0 | Alua ... | 37 | 20 | + | 9 | 15 |
| Rice ... | 8 | 10 | 0 | Rice ... | 8 | 10 | + | 1 | 25 |
| Khesari ... | 3 | 12 | 0 | Khesari ... | 3 | 12 | + | 4 | 0 |
| Chilis ... | 11 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| Linseed ... | 0 | 16 | 8 | | | | | | |

NOTE.—A man's consumption has been calculated on the scale given on page 284. That of a woman and of a child has been taken at three quarters, and a half, of this quantity respectively. Allowance has been made for the retention of some paddy as seed.

The ground has now been fairly cleared for an attempt to exhibit the family budget for the year, which I proceed to do :—

| RECEIPTS. | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By sale of 11 mds. chilis ... | 33 | 0 | |
| „ sale of linseed 16*s.* 8*ch.* | 1 | 2 | |
| Rs. .. | 44 | 2 | 0 |
| Add deficit ... | 4 | 11 | 1 |
| Grand Total Rs. ... | 48 | 13 | 1 |

| EXPENDITURE. | mds. seers. | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| By purchase of | 3 22 jankerai | 4 | 0 | 11 |
| „ „ | „ 7 27 makai | 8 | 12 | 5 |
| „ „ | „ 2 11 marua | 2 | 4 | 5 |
| „ „ | „ 9 15 alua | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| „ „ | „ 0 25 rice | 3 | 9 | 9 |
| „ „ | „ 4 0 kherari | 4 | 9 | 1 |
| By purchase of salt | | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| „ „ of tobacco | | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| „ „ of clothes and shoes | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| „ „ of cooking vessels, &c. | | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| Annual house repairs | | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to carpenter, 40 seers makai, value | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to dhobi, 16 seers marua, value | | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Paid to barber, 51 seers rice, etc., value | | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| By rent ... | | 3 | 11 | 0 |
| Total Rs. ... | | 48 | 13 | 1 |
| Grand Total Rs. ... | | 48 | 13 | 1 |

NOTE.—The remuneration of carpenter, barber and dhobi has been estimated according to the scale given on pages 280 & 281. When payments are made at two harvests, the amount paid at one has been doubled to avoid useless petty calculations. The grain given has been valued low because it is paid at harvest time when it is cheap.

It will be noticed at once that all expenditure on purchase of ploughs, cattle or ornaments, and on marriages, sradhs or other ceremonies has been left out of account. To have calculated the annual incidence of these charges would have been extremely difficult, and their introduction would have produced much controversy. Moreover, every one knows that the ryot makes no such elaborate calculations. If he has a hoard, he draws upon it, if not, he has recourse to his mahajan. It may be noted also that the question of drinking has not

been touched upon, although the practice is very prevalent among the poorer classes, who apparently feel the necessity of a stimulant, and do not consider indulgence in it unhealthy. Against the estimated deficit and all these occasional and heavy expenses, should be set the profit from keeping cattle, and any additional income derivable from day labour or trade. It must be acknowledged that the fact of a family being ordinarily unable to support itself from agriculture alone is an alarming symptom in the present condition of Behar, but there are considerations which render the outlook less serious than it appears at first sight. My next statement shows the number of households in which the members follow some trade or labour for hire:—

| Number of Households | Priest or doctor. | Dyer. | Dhobi. | Fisherman | Carpenter. | Chamar. | Weaver. | Various. | Barber. | Nonia. | Shop-keeper. | Servant, including mahouts. | Labourer. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 190 | 13 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6* | 2 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 56 |

When reduced to a percentage these figures show that 63 per cent. either labour for hire or follow some trade.

This result is somewhat vitiated by the fact that some households do both: inasmuch, however, as income from grass and trees has been neglected, the percentage may be considered to be fairly accurate.

Personally, in the absence of a larger mass of evidence, I prefer to confine myself to a simple statement, that among the households examined seventy-four were poor, fifty four dependent on the out turn of the year, fifty comfortably off, and twelve well-to-do. If, however, further enquiries were made on these lines, in thirty or more village in every district, and the clientèle of each trader or artisan ascertained, it would not be difficult to arrange the households according to their castes, and work up a series of reliable averages by *castes*, showing their financial

* The entries in this column comprise one beggar, two chokidars, one mason, one maker of religious images, and a man who cooks and sells parched rice.

position. When this has been done there should be less of the slipshod discussion, and hastily conceived legislation following upon it, that has largely assisted in pauperising the most fertile province in Bengal. More attention would be paid to a study of the requirements of each class, and an attempt made to solve the present problem by attacking it in detail. Something might be done by the Public Works Department to attract artisans and labourers, when large schemes are in contemplation, involving the erection of workshops and the employment of large bodies of men. It is also possible that the incredible cheapness of skilled and unskilled labour may render the establishment of jute or cotton mills a profitable undertaking for European capital Other fields for employment will, no doubt, suggest themselves in the fulness of time to the ripened experience of Government. At present much is expected from emigration, yet it is well known, to all acquainted with the history of countries where the poorest classes are never far from starvation level, that the places of those going to seek their fortunes elsewhere are as rapidly filled up. Population continues to press close upon the heels of subsistence, until war, pestilence or famine so thins the ranks, that the gaps cannot be filled by immediate and reckless multiplication. If, however, in the brief interval, the lowest classes can improve sufficiently to acquire something that can be lost, be it so intangible as some trace of self-dependence and foresight, the seed of future progress will have been sown. This was the case in England after the Wars of the Roses, and the scourge of the "Black Death," when the improvement in the position of the poor was maintained in spite of the Statute of labourers and the pauper legislation of Queen Elizabeth. Fortunately, or unfortunately, according to the standpoint taken, in the present era of peaceful security, sanitary boards, and a colossal system of State charity, there is little likelihood that the population will be decimated by the horrors of war, pestilence or famine.

Instead of the offer, in times of acute distress, to provide work and food for a starving people, it would be better to arrange for its deportation to the sparsely inhabited tracts of Burma and Assam Many would, no doubt, find their way back when times were better, but those who elect to remain will sensibly promote the stream of voluntary emigration, by inducing relations and neighbours to settle near their new homes. In a word, labour will have become more mobile.

Measures, however, of this kind, albeit well meant, only touch the surface of the difficulty. The fermentation continues, and the froth disappears only to re-form. No permanent improvement is possible until the poorest are awakened to some sense of self-reliance and moral restraint.

If a tithe of what is spent in a famine were devoted to extending the system of primary education, more would have been done to render the amelioration of their condition possible, than has been effected in a century of misgovernment in Behar.

F. C. HARRISON.

# A Village, Thana Dalsingsarai, Tajpur Sub-division.

| Serial Number. | Name. | Land, including Bhauli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons. | | | | No. who labour for hire. | Following their caste, trade or profession. | Position. | | | | Pahi cultivation. | Pahi rent. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves. | Buffaloes. | Donkeys. | Cart. | | | Male. | | Female. | | | | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years. | Comfortable. | Lends or well-to-do. | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children. | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | KAWERI. | B. C. Dh. | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P | B. C. Dh. | |
| 1 | Gudar Mohto ... | 5 14 11 | 1 Bel, 1 Mohua, 1 Jack tree. | 2 | . | ... | 1 | . | . | ... | 33 0 8 | ... | 2 | 2 | 2 | . | . | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | 0 5 9 | ... | |
| 2 | Bhujunga Mohto ... | 17 6 18 | 1 Bel .. | . | 2 | ... | ... | ... | . | 1 | 66 10 4½ | 0 8 0 | 5 | 1 | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | 0 15 6 | ... | |
| 3 | Jairam Mohto ... | 2 6 18 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | | 9 15 0 | 0 1 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | .. | . | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 | Widow of Bhato Mohto | 6 0 19 | ..... | 2 | ... | ... | .. | . | .. | ... | 22 13 7½ | ... | 2 | 1 | 4 | .. | .. | ... | .. | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | |
| 5 | Nephew of Kanhai Mohto. | 0 8 0 | ..... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | 1 0 0 | 0 1 0 | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 6 | Jal Narain Mohto ... | 3 6 2 | ..... | 1 | ... | .. | .. | . | . | .. | 19 0 6 | ... | 2 | ... | 4 | .. | ... | ... | ... | x | . | ... | ... | ... | |
| 7 | Lachman Mohto ... | 4 11 9 | ..... | 2 | ... | 1 | .. | 2 | .. | ... | 27 0 0 | ... | 2 | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | 0 1 3 | ... | |
| 8 | Bakus Mohto ... | 7 19 14 | .. ... | 2 | 2 | 2 | . | ... | .. | 1 | 42 0 9 | ... | 5 | ... | 2 | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | 0 5 9 | ... | |
| 9 | Jairam Mohto .. | 5 12 0 | ..... | 1 | 2 | . | .. | ... | ... | 1 | 22 5 10½ | ... | 2 | ... | .. | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | |
| 10 | Raja Mohto .. | 1 5 4 | ..... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 8 9 | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | .. | 2 | ... | x | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | |
| 11 | Lotan Mohto ... | 1 0 12 | ..... | .. | .. | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 6 6 | ... | 1 | ... | 3 | | 4 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | | 65 12 7 | ..... | 11 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 | .. | 3 | 247 11 7½ | 0 10 0 | 24 | 9 | 27 | 3 | 8 | ... | 3 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 12 3 | ... | |

# A Village, Thana Dalsingsarai, Tajpur Sub-division—*(Contd.)*

| Serial number. | Name. | Land, including Bhauli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons. | | | | No. who labour for hire. | Following their caste trade or profession. | Position. | | | | Rent for Sairat. | Pahi cultivation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves | Buffaloes. | Donkeys. | Cart. | | | Male. | | Female. | | | | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years. | Comfortable. | Lords or well-to-do. | | | |
| | | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children | | | | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | BRAHMIN. | B C. Dh. | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | R. C Dh. | |
| 12 | Pasi Jha ... ... | 4 1 2 | 5-6 Bel, 1 Mohua | 2 | . | . | 1 | ... | .. | ... | 18 4 9 | ... | .. | .. | 1 | .. | . | x | ... | ... | ... | x | 1 6 0 | ... | |
| 13 | Kalar Jha .. | 0 8 0 | 5 Bel | . | .. | .. | .. | ... | .. | . | 3 12 6 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | x | ... | ... | ... | x | 1 6 3 | ... | Has also bra mutta land. |
| 14 | Ganga Jha .. | 1 14 0 | 4 Bel ... | 1 | ... | . | .. | ... | .. | .. | 1 11 1½ | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | . | . | ... | x | ... | ... | | 1 10 3 | 1 10 0 | |
| | | 6 3 2 | ..... | 3 | . | 1 | .. | . | .. | | 25 12 4½ | ... | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | ... | 2 | 1 | . | ... | 2 | 4 6 6 | 1 10 0 | |
| | GOALA. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | Phuli Gope ... | 2 12 12 | Tar trees .. | 1 | ... | 2 | 1 | ... | .. | ... | 11 3 6 | ... | 1 | 1 | 3 | . | 1 | .. | ... | x | .. | ... | 0 7 6 | ... | Grass 2½ cottahs |
| 16 | Pheku Gope .. | 2 12 12 | ... .. | . | .. | 2 | . | .. | . | . | 10 6 9 | 0 2 6 | . | 2 | 2 | .. | . | .. | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| 17 | Persadi Gope .. | 4 8 10 | Tar trees .. | ... | ... | 2 | ... | .. | . | .. | 18 14 3 | .. | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | ... | ... | x | .. | . | 0 8 6 | ... | Do. |
| 18 | Juttu Gope ... | 4 10 16 | Ditto | 1 | . | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | . | 16 11 9 | 23 4 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | . | 1 | . | ... | ... | x | | 0 8 6 | ... | Labours in factory Rs. 2-8 month. |
| 19 | Dahoo Gope ... | 1 16 16 | ..... | . | . | . | . | . | .. | ... | 7 13 7½ | 7 6 6 | 3 | . | 1 | | 3 | . | .. | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | Ditto. |
| 20 | Bharosi Gope .. | 4 4 0 | .. ... | 1 | . | 1 | . | 1 | | . | 14 7 0 | 27 8 9 | . | 2 | 2 | . | | .. | ... | x | .. | . | 0 4 6 | ... | Grass 0-2-10. |
| | | 20 5 6 | ... ... | 3 | . | 9 | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | 79 8 10½ | 58 5 9 | 6 | 8 | 11 | 1 | 5 | ... | .. | 4 | 2 | | 1 13 0 | ... | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **DHOBI.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | Ramlal Dhobi ... | 1 11 16 | . ...... | ... | . | 2 | .. | .. | 2 | .. | 9 10 3 | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | .. | . | x | x | ... | x | ... | 0·14 6 | ... | |
| 22 | Ramlal Dhobi, 2nd ... | 1 7 4 | Tal tree ... | ... | .. | . | .. | . | 1 | ... | 6 11 9 | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | . | .. | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | | 2 19 0 | ...... | ... | ... | 2 | .. | .. | 3 | .. | 16 6 0 | ... | ... | 2 | 6 | . | ... | 2 | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | 0 14 6 | ... | |
| | **NONIA.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | Baijoo Nonia ... | 1 7 8 | ...... | ... | . | . | .. | . | .. | ... | 7 6 3 | ... | . | 1 | 2 | .. | ... | x | ... | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | A refinery. |
| 24 | Phulchand Nonia ... | 4 4 11 | ...... | 1 | ... | .. | 1 | ... | ... | .. | 12 9 6 | 4 8 3 | 9 | ... | 3 | .. | ... | x | ... | x | ... | .. | 0 10 0 | ... | Crude Saltpetre maker. |
| 25 | Hardyal Nonia ... | 1 5 11 | ...... | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | .. | 1 9 10½ | ... | ... | . | 2 | .. | 5 | ... | x | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | |
| 26 | Chakouri Nonia ... | 0 0 14 | ...... | ... | ... | | | ... | ... | ... | 0 3 4½ | 0 5 4½ | ... | . | 1 | | 2 | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 27 | Bala Nonia ... | 1 8 1 | ...... | .. | ... | ... | | ... | ... | ... | 0 8 3 | ... | 1 | . | 6 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | |
| 28 | Chakouri Nonia, 2nd... | 2 0 0 | ...... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | ... | .. | 2 3 0 | 3 6 9 | .. | . | 2 | ... | | x | .... | ... | x | .. | ... | 1 10 0 | A refinery. |
| | | 10 6 5 | ...... | 1 | .. | ... | 1 | ... | ... | . | 24 8 3 | 8 4 4½ | 10 | 1 | 16 | . | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | ... | 0 10 0 | 1 10 0 | |
| | **TANTI.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | Widow of Lachman Tanti | 0 1 9 | ...... | ... | ... | . | .. | ... | ... | .. | 0 6 9 | ... | ... | . | . | .. | 1 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 30 | Jhakri Tanti ... | 2 19 6 | ...... | ... | ... | | .. | ... | ... | .. | 14 2 9 | ... | .. | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | x | x | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | |
| 31 | Shama Charan Tanti | 1 7 8 | ...... | . | . | 1 | .. | . | | .. | 8 9 0 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | 1 | 2 | x | x | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 32 | Kharoo Tanti ... | 1 2 0 | ...... | ... | .. | . | .. | | .. | .. | 1 7 9 | 0 2 0 | 3 | .. | 1 | . | 1 | x | ... | ... | .. | . | ... | 1 0 0 | |
| 33 | Brother of Banku Tanti. | 1 16 9 | ...... | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | . | ... | ... | 9 2 6 | ... | 7 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 3 | x | ... | x | . | .. | ... | ... | |
| | | 7 6 12 | ...... | 1 | . | 3 | .. | .. | ... | .. | 33 12 9 | 0 2 0 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 2 | | ... | ... | 1 0 0 | |
| | **DOSADH.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | Kishna Pasban ... | 1 3 18 | ...... | ... | . | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 0 6 | 6 7 3 | ... | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | ... | x | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | |
| 35 | Rama Pasban ... | 9 18 12 | 6 Tar trees 10 date. | 1 | . | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 48 9 9 | ... | 3 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | 5 7 0 | ... | |
| 36 | Dukha Pasban ... | 7 2 4 | 1 Tar tree 1 Bel. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 0 0 | 28 3 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | .. | .. | ... | x | ... | ... | .. | 2 0 0 | ... | |
| 37 | Gopal Pasban ... | 0 0 11 | ...... | .. | .. | .. | ... | . | . | ... | 0 3 1½ | ... | 2 | ... | 4 | ... | 6 | ... | x | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | |
| | | 18 5 5 | ...... | 1 | . | 2 | .. | . | ... | ... | 67 13 4½ | 34 10 3 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 10 | ... | 3 | ... | 1 | ... | 7 7 0 | ... | |

# A Village, Thana Dalsingsarai, Tajpur Sub-division—*(Contd.)*

| Serial Number. | Name. | Land, including Bhauli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons. | | | | Following their caste, trade or profession. | Position. | | | Rent for Suirat. | Pahi cultivation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves. | Buffaloes. | Donkeys. | Cart. | | | Male | | Female | | | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years | Comfortable. | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children. | No who labour for hire. | | | | Lands or well-to-do | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | TAMULI. | B. C. Dh. | | | | | | | | | RS. A. P. | RS. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | RS. A. P. | B C. Dh. | |
| 38 | Dukha Tamuli ... | 17 0 0 | ..... | 6 | .. | 6 | ... | ... | ... | .. | 10 13 6 | ... | 9 | . | 10 | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 0 0 | Very comfortably off. The rent stated is for 6 bighas only. |
| | | 17 0 0 | ..... | 6 | ... | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 13 6 | ... | 9 | ... | 10 | .. | . | ... | ... | ... | 1 | .. | ... | 5 0 0 | The rate for the rest is unknown. |
| | BANIA. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 39 | Bhajoo Bania ... | 0 5 0 | .. ... | ... | . | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 6 0 | 0 9 9 | . | . | 2 | ... | . | x | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | A shop. |
| 40 | Widow of Sanjat Bania | 0 1 5 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | 0 15 0 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | . | ... | .. | A servant on Rs. 2-8 in another's shop. |
| 41 | Firanji Bania ... | ..... | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | 0 9 7½ | ... | ... | . | 1 | 1 | ... | x | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | A shop. |
| | | 0 6 5 | ..... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | .. | . | 3 14 7½ | 0 9 9 | 1 | . | 4 | 1 | ... | 2 | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 42 | Etwari Sahoo ... | 1 7 8 | ..... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 14 1½ | ... | 1 | 3 | 1 | . | ... | x | ... | x | ... | ... | 0 7 9 | ... | His son in service at Rampur Bauleah: has a shop. |
| 43 | Ramlal Sahoo ... | 13 18 0 | 1 Bel tree... | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | . | .. | 1 | 41 14 7½ | ... | 5 | 2 | 7 | ... | .. | x | ... | ... | .. | x | 1 2 9 | ... | Has also salt refinery. |
| 44 | Jhoomak Sahoo ... | 4 17 16 | 10 Kottas Mangoes. | . | ... | .. | ... | | ... | . | 15 12 6 | 0 0 1½ | ... | ... | 6 | ... | .. | ... | x | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | Cooks parched rice. |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 45 | Ramlal Sahoo | .. | . .... | ... .. | . | .. | . | . | . | . | 1 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | . | | | . | ... | . | ... | . | x | . ... | | ... | Probably a double entry, except as regards rental. |
| | | | 20 | 3 | 4 | ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | | 1 | 84 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1½ | 6 | 5 | 4 | . | 2 | 1 | 1 | . | 2 | 1 | 10 | 6 | ... |
| | TELI. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 46 | Harl Teli | ... | 25 | 0 | 14 | .... | 3 | | | | . | . | 65 | 14 | 9 | ... | | | 1 | | 2 | . | x | ... | ... | .. | x | 0 | 2 | 3 | ... | Small shop, grass 4-0-0. |
| | | | 25 | 0 | 14 | ... .. | 3 | . | | . | . | . | 65 | 14 | 9 | ... | | | 1 | ... | 2 | | 1 | ... | | | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | ... | |
| | KANDU. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 47 | Mangoo Kandu | ... | 0 | 12 | 0 | ... . | . | . | | | . | . | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 6 | 1 | . | 2 | . | ... | x | .. | | . | | | | Mahaut. His son is a servant. |
| | | | 0 | 12 | 0 | ... | . | | . | | ... | . | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 6 | 1 | | 2 | .. | .. | 1 | ... | | . | ... | | ... | |
| | KAYASTHA. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 48 | Ramlal Kayastha | .. | 2 | 3 | 10 | 1 Bel tree. 2-3 Mango Trees | 1 | .. | | .. | . | ... | 8 | 15 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 7 | | x | x | ... | . | ... | 0 | 11 | 6 | ... | A little milkiat, 2 are servants. 10 annas bhauli. |
| | | | 2 | 3 | 10 | . .... | 1 | . | | . | . | | 8 | 15 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 7 | | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | 0 | 11 | 6 | ... | |
| | HAJAM. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 49 | Moti Hajam | . | 1 | 0 | 17 | Jack tree | .. | | | | | | 4 | 7 | 0 | | | | 0 | | | 2 | x | x | | | 1 | 3 | 0 | ... | |
| 50 | Latoo Hajam | . | 0 | 15 | 0 | ..... | . | | | | . | . | 4 | 7 | 3 | .... | | | 1 | | 2 | | x | | | x | . | .. | | | |
| | | | 1 | 15 | 17 | ..... | . | .. | | | . | . | 8 | 14 | 3 | ... | | | 7 | 1 | 5 | . | 2 | 2 | 1 | .. | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 | ... | |
| | FAKIR. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 51 | Gosain Siram Das | . | 20 | 16 | 6 | ..... | 3 | . | 4 | ... | | | 34 | 0 | 0 | .. | | | . | . | | . | | ... | . | x | .. | 1 | 6 | 3 | ... | Rs 4-2-3 bhauli. |
| | | | 20 | 16 | 6 | ..... | 3 | .. | 4 | | | . | 34 | 0 | 0 | ... | | | ... | . | . | . | . | .. | .. | 1 | . | 1 | 6 | 3 | ... | |

# A Village, Thana Dalsingsarai, Tajpur Sub-division—*(Contd.)*

| Serial number. | Name. | Land, including Bhasli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | Cart. | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons | | | | No. who labour for hire. | Following their caste trade or profession. | Position. | | | Rent for Sairat. | Pahi cultivation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves | Buffaloes. | Donkeys. | | | | Male. Adult. | Male. Children. | Female. Adult. | Female. Children. | | | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years. | Comfortable. Lands or well-to-do. | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | **BRAHMIN & RAJPUT** | B. C. Dh. | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | Rs A. P. | B. C. Dh | |
| 52 | Widow of Bajrup Roi | 6 0 1 | ..... | ... | . | . | | | . | ... | 25 12 6 | 23 4 6 | 1 | .. | 1 | ... | | ... | ... | ... | X | . | ... | ... | |
| 53 | Sukan Roi ... | 5 17 1 | ..... | 1 | | | ... | ... | .. | . | 21 3 1½ | ... | 4 | 1 | 6 | . | 2 | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | 0 3 0 | ... | 2 work in Dalsingsaria Bazar. |
| 54 | Sarabdhari Roi ... | 12 4 6 | ..... | 3 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | ... | 38 0 6 | ... | 2 | ... | 1 | 3 | . | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | 0 2 0 | ... | |
| 55 | Laljit Roi ... | 3 15 15 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | . | .. | .. | 12 3 9 | ... | ... | 4 | 1 | .. | .. | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | 0 7 9 | ... | |
| 56 | Raj Rup Roi ... | 1 2 2 | ..... | .. | . | . | . | ... | . | ... | 2 8 0 | 16 5 6 | ... | 1 | 3 | . | .. | ... | ... | X | . | ... | ... | ... | Works as a factory peon, Rs. 3. |
| 57 | Nathun Roi ... | 29 5 0 | ..... | 3 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | . | 1 | 4 3 1½ | 1 2 7½ | 8 | ... | 9 | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 0 0 | At a low rate. |
| 58 | Nephew of Mitarjit Roi | 2 3 0 | ..... | 2 | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | 6 14 6 | ... | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | .. | 0 0 7½ | ... | |
| 59 | Kirat Roi ... | 6 12 10 | ..... | 2 | ... | . | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 7 4½ | ... | 2 | ... | 3 | . | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 0 0 | |
| 60 | Kunja Roi ... | 3 15 18 | ..... | 1 | .. | ... | | ... | . | ... | 9 14 6 | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | 1 | . | ... | ... | X | ... | . | 0 5 0 | ... | |
| 61 | Monoher Roi ... | 3 2 18 | ..... | 1 | | . | . | ... | ... | ... | 14 8 0 | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | 0 10 0 | ... | |
| 62 | Son of Behari Roi ... | 2 9 4 | ..... | 2 | | 1 | . | ... | ... | ... | 11 9 3 | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 63 | Nowranji Roi .. | 11 15 3 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 2 | . | ... | 38 5 3 | ... | 2 | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | . | . | ... | ... | |
| 64 | Gobind Roi ... | 48 17 9 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 53 13 6 | 66 0 0 | 4 | ... | 9 | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | 0 1 1½ | 27 0 0 | Milkiat and one horse. |
| 65 | Gokhul Roi ... | 3 10 0 | ..... | 1 | . | . | . | ... | ... | ... | 12 15 6 | 13 12 0 | 2 | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 66 | Jhutie Roi ... | 0 | 11 | 7 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 1 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 67 | Manrup Roi ... | 0 | 3 | 10 | ... .. | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 68 | Hanuman Roi and Chakouri. | 2 | 16 | 14½ | ..... | 1 | .. | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | 8 | 15 | 6 | ..... | | | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | Has land at Patori and is in service there. |
| 69 | Brother of Ram Bakas Roi. | 3 | 13 | 19 | ..... | 1 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | | 0 | 15 | 6 | .. .. | | | 3 | ... | 1 | .. | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | .. | ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 70 | Manoji Roi ... | 0 | 1 | 1 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | . | ... | 0 | 12 | 6 | ... .. | | | ... | ... | 2 | .. | 2 | ... | x | ... | . | . | 0 | 8 | 0 | ... | Himself blind and a beggar. |
| 71 | Chethra Roi ... | 5 | 12 | 1 | ..... | 2 | ... | ... | . | 2 | ... | . | 12 | 14 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 10½ | 2 | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | |
| 72 | Rannoo Roi ... | 6 | 6 | 7 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | . | ... | 23 | 11 | 9 | ..... | | | 4 | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 6 annas Bhauli. |
| | | 159 | 15 | 6½ | ..... | 29 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | ... | 1 | 303 | 12 | 7½ | 122 | 3 | 9 | 45 | 8 | 58 | 6 | 4 | ... | 3 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 9 | 66 | 5 | 0 | |
| | MOHAMMEDANS. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 73 | Agnoo Mian ... | 1 | 10 | 7 | ..... | .. | . | | ... | .. | ... | .. | 1 | 13 | 6 | ... ... | | | 1 | . | 1 | .. | | x | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | | | 1 | 0 | 0 | Dyer. |
| 74 | Mauli Filwan ... | 0 | 3 | 17 | ..... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | ... | 0 | 4 | 6 | ..... | | | 1 | . | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | | | ... | | Mahaut on 2-8. Brother a peon on 2-8. |
| 75 | Mahabali Filwan ... | 1 | 2 | 0 | Date trees | 1 | | | | . | ... | ... | 2 | 9 | 0 | ..... | | | 1 | .. | 4 | . | . | ... | ... | x | ... | .. | 0 | 2 | 9 | ... | Mahaut. |
| 76 | Langar Khan ... | 8 | 17 | 3 | 2 Bel trees Tar and Date trees. | 1 | ... | . | .. | ... | .. | ... | 28 | 14 | 3 | ... .. | | | 1 | .. | 2 | | ... | ... | x | .. | . | ... | 3 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 0 | All mortgaged. |
| 77 | Widow of Jhantee Mian. | 0 | 0 | 14 | ..... | . | ... | ... | . | . | . | .. | 0 | 3 | 4½ | 1 | 1 | 10½ | 1 | .. | . | .. | 1 | ... | x | ... | .. | .. | ... | | | ... | | |
| 78 | Mahgo Mian ... | 1 | 0 | 0 | ..... | ... | ... | .. | . | ... | ... | . | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | ... | 3 | .. | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | | | ... | | |
| 79 | Baharan Mian ... | 10 | 3 | 18 | Tar trees & 1 Bel tree. | . | ... | .. | . | | .. | .. | 44 | 2 | 9 | ... .. | | | 2 | | 2 | ... | | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | 3 | 2 | 9 | ... | Mahaut. |
| 80 | Akloo Mian ... | 4 | 5 | 4 | ... .. | 2 | ... | ... | . | . | .. | ... | 17 | 13 | 9 | ... .. | | | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | .. | 1 | 12 | 3 | ... | | | |
| 81 | Laloo Khan .. | 3 | 1 | 0 | ..... | 2 | .. | . | . | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 4 | 4½ | ..... | | | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | x | . | ... | ... | | | 3 | 0 | 0 | |
| 82 | Rajabali Mian ... | 0 | 9 | 7 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | ... | ... | 2 | .. | 3 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | | | ... | | |
| 83 | Jhori Meah ... | | ..... | | Bel and Tar trees. | ... | .. | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 12 | 9 | ..... | | | . | 1 | 2 | .. | 3 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 12 | 0 | | | | |
| 84 | Jamad Ali ... | 0 | 10 | 0 | ..... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ..... | | | 59 | 11 | 4½ | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | 3 | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | ... | | | ... | | |

# A Village, Thana Dalsingsarai, Tajpur Sub-division.

| Serial Number. | Name. | Land, including Bhauli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons. | | | | No. who labour for hire. | Following their caste, trade or profession. | Position. | | | | Pahi cultivation. | Pahi rent. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves. | Buffaloes. | Donkeys. | | | Male. | | Female. | | | | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years. | Comfortable. | Lands or well-to-do | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | Cart. | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children. | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | **Mohammedans—*Contd.*** | B. C. Dh. | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | B. C. Dh. | |
| 85 | Sheikh Farzand ... | 5 6 0 | ..... | 1 | .. | ... | ... | ... | . | 31 13 10½ | 49 12 4½ | 6 | . | 4 | . | . | ... | ... | X | . | .. | 3 5 0 | ... | Annas 15-1½bh. |
| 86 | Sheikh Yusuf ... | 4 7 16 | ..... | 1 | . | . | .. | .. | ... | 21 13 4½ | 5 9 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | ... | .. | ... | ... | X | . | ... | 1 1 1½ | ... | |
| 87 | Sheikh Ashgar ... | 5 1 6 | ..... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 36 6 0 | 0 11 0 | 3 | .. | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | 3 5 0 | ... | |
| 88 | Nabu Bux ... | 2 8 14 | ..... | 1 | . | . | 2 | ... | ... | 14 11 3 | ..... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 89 | Soman ... | 3 18 15 | ..... | 1 | . | ... | .. | ... | ... | 25 4 10½ | ..... | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | . | .. | 20 10 0 | . | |
| 90 | Barkat Mian ... | 0 12 15 | ..... | ... | . | .. | 1 | ... | . | 4 5 3 | 0 2 3 | .. | ... | 3 | ... | .. | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Both cultivate |
| 91 | Paloo Mian ... | 0 2 0 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 1 11 0 | 0 1 0 | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | . | 1 3 0 | ... | Pahi; amount of |
| 92 | Wahed Ali . | 0 16 15 | ..... | .. | ... | .. | ... | ... | . | 3 1 1½ | 16 14 10½ | 1 | ... | 2 | .. | 3 | ... | X | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | land unknown. |
| 93 | Khoda Bux ... | 1 0 0 | ..... | .. | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 12 6 | 0 4 0 | 2 | .. | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | X | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | |
| 94 | Jafer Mian ... | ..... | ..... | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 14 6 | ..... | ... | . | 3 | ... | .. | ... | X | ... | . | .. | ... | ... | Servant. |
| 95 | Nirsoo Mian .. | ..... | ..... | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 1 0 | 2 1 0 | 1 | .. | 2 | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | . | ... | 2 0 0 | ... | Servant. |
| 96 | Son's wife of Mahamed Hossen. | 14 1 12 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | 38 5 1½ | 178 1 10½ | ... | ... | . | . | .. | ... | ... | ... | X | .. | ... | ... | |
| 97 | Wife of Nazir Sheikh | not known | ..... | 1 | .. | .. | . | ... | ... | ..... | ..... | ... | 2 | .. | . | . | ... | X | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | Land and rent |
| 98 | Mitan Shah* | 0 17 5 | ... . | 1 | .. | ... | | .. | ... | 1 10 4½ | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | unknown. |
| | Total ... | 69 16 8 | ..... | 13 | ... | 1 | 3 | ... | ... | 283 0 3 | 315 8 1½ | 28 | 6 | 56 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 12 | 7 | 7 | ... | 40 14 10½ | 5 10 0 | Makes tasirs and has 1½ bigahs jagir. |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **CARPENTER.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 99 | Hibharan Barhi | ... | 3 | 17 | 18 | ..... | 1 | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 7 | 9 | 1 | .. | 3 | .. | ... | x | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | |
| | Total | ... | 3 | 17 | 18 | ..... | 1 | ... | .. | ... | . | . | 16 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 7 | 9 | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | .. | 1 | 1 | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | | |
| | **FISHERMAN.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 100 | Lootan Molla | .. | 2 | 0 | 0 | ..... | ... | ... | .. | ... | .. | ... | . | 10 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 0 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | . | 1 | 2 | x | x | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | | Jalkar. |
| 101 | Lootan Molla, 2nd | ... | | ..... | | ..... | .. | ... | .. | ... | .. | ... | .. | | ... | | 2 | 14 | 6 | | .. | 1 | 1 | 2 | x | x | .. | . | .. | ... | ... | | Ditto. |
| 102 | Sookan Molla | ... | | ..... | | ..... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 44 | 10 | 0 | | ... | | 1 | .. | 2 | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | | Ditto. |
| | Total | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 | ..... | ... | . | ... | .. | ... | .. | .. | 54 | 14 | 3 | 9 | 15 | $1\frac{1}{2}$ | 2 | . | 4 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | .. | 1 | .. | ... | ... | | |
| | **CHAMAR.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 103 | Jhantu Chamar | ... | 0 | 17 | 19 | Tar and Bel trees. | . | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 5 | 3 | | ... | | . | 1 | 2 | 1 | .. | x | ... | x | .. | ... | ... | ... | | Women are mid-wives, he plays the drum also. |
| | Total | .. | 0 | 17 | 19 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | . | .. | ... | ... | 4 | 5 | 3 | | ... | | ... | 1 | 2 | 1 | .. | 1 | ... | 1 | .. | ... | ... | ... | | |
| | Grand Total | ... | 445 | 3 | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | ..... | 76 | 0 | 34 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 1,374 | 13 | 6 | 553 | 11 | 0 | 165 | 53 | 243 | 19 | 63 | 25 | 37 | 26 | 29 | 11 | 65 | 12 | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | 80 | 10 | 0 | |

NOTE.—The bigha is 20 lagis of 6 haths 6 fingers to the lagi.

The amount of land bhauli is unknown, but its rent is given in the Remarks column.

Pahi means cultivation in another village.

The rent of Pahi land is unknown, but the amount of land held Pahi by Delhi tenants has been included in Column 1.

In column twenty-four rent for shops and houses has been entered when ascertainable, in addition to the rent for trees or grass.

# Second Village, Thana Nagarbasti, Tajpur Sub-division.

| Serial Number. | Name. | Land, including Bhauli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons. | | | | | Position. | | | | Pahi cultivation. | Pahi rent. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves. | Buffaloes | Donkeys. | Cart. | | | Male. | | Female. | | No. who labour for hire. | Following their caste, trade or profession. | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years. | Comfortable. | Lends & well-to-do. | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children. | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | BRAHMIN. | B. C. Dh | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | B. C. Dh. | Rs. A. P. | |
| 1 | Chhitan Misser .. | 3 14 0 | ..... | 1 | .. | 1 | ... | 4 | . | .. | 19 5 0 | 4 6 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | .. | × | ... | ... | × | .. | ... | ... | |
| 2 | Dharam Dutt Misser | 5 8 7 | ..... | 1 | ... | . | ... | 2 | . | ... | 16 14 6 | ... | 1 | 2 | 1 | ... | . | × | ... | ... | × | .. | 4 7 15 | 9 15 6 | |
| 3 | Palkit Misser ... | 0 11 10 | ..... | .. | ... | 2 | ... | ... | . | ... | 1 14 0 | ... | 2 | ... | 1 | .. | .. | × | ... | ... | .. | ... | 0 10 0 | 1 4 0 | |
| | BANIA. | 9 13 17 | ..... | 2 | ... | 3 | ... | 6 | ... | .. | 38 1 6 | 4 6 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 2 | . | 3 | ... | ... | 2 | .. | 4 17 15 | 11 3 6 | |
| 4 | Bahar Sahu ... | ... | ..... | . | ... | 1 | ... | .. | ... | ... | 3 0 0 | 0 2 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | ... | × | ... | ... | × | .. | ... | ... | Shop-keeper. |
| | KAWERI. | ... | ..... | ... | | 1 | ... | ... | . | | 3 0 0 | 0 2 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | .. | ... | ... | |
| 5 | Janki Mahto ... | 6 12 12 | ..... | 2 | 2 | . | . | 1 | ... | 1 | 33 3 6 | 1 3 9 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | . | .. | ... | .. | × | ... | 3 11 8 | 7 8 3 | |
| 6 | Sona Mahto ... | 4 3 2 | ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | ... | ... | . | 1 | 17 9 0 | ... | 3 | 4 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | .. | × | .. | 2 11 17 | 4 6 9 | 1 goat. |
| 7 | Shib Charan Mahto ... | 4 5 19 | ..... | 1 | . | 1 | . | .. | ... | ... | 30 10 6 | 0 7 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | . | .. | ... | ... | × | ... | ... | 0 12 0 | 2 0 0 | |
| 8 | Hibharan Mahto ... | 11 8 14 | ..... | 2 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 45 7 0 | 2 1 9 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 5 | . | ... | .. | ... | × | .. | 7 2 12 | 11 10 3 | |
| 9 | Girdhari Mahto ... | 9 1 0 | ..... | 2 | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30 11 3 | 2 2 9 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 2 | .. | ... | ... | ... | × | .. | 7 3 0 | 15 6 3 | |
| 10 | Soman Mahto ... | 1 5 16 | ..... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | .. | ... | ... | 10 6 0 | 11 15 0 | 1 | | 1 | . | 1 | ... | × | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | |
| 11 | Haruni Mahto ... | 8 9 2 | ..... | 1 | 2 | .. | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | 35 7 0 | ... | 3 | . | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | × | ... | 6 9 0 | 18 10 0 | |
| 12 | Balakee Mahto ... | 4 10 11 | ..... | 1 | ... | 2 | .. | . | ... | ... | 16 13 6 | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | ... | ... | ... | × | .. | .. | 3 3 17 | 5 10 0 | |

Note.—Pahi cultivation and rent has been included in Column 3, but is also given separately in Columns 24 and 25.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | Bhikhari Mahto No. 1 | 0 | 9 | 4 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 14 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | | | | | |
| 14 | Bhutan Mahto | 3 | 3 | 11 | ..... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | 0 | 6 | | ... | | 3 | .. | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | . | ... | 1 | 17 | 19 | 2 | 9 | 9 | | |
| 15 | Karam Chand Mahto | 4 | 15 | 6 | ..... | 2 | .. | 2 | .. | .. | . | ... | 19 | 5 | 3 | | ... | | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | .. | 4 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 0 | | |
| 16 | Paltoo Chand Mahto | 10 | 14 | 9 | ..... | 2 | 2 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 56 | 10 | 9 | | ... | | 5 | 3 | 5 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | x | ... | 7 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 0 | | |
| 17 | Bhikari Mahto ... | 1 | 3 | 8 | ..... | .. | | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 6 | 6 | | ... | | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | . | | ... | | | ... | | | |
| 18 | Paltoo Mahto .. | 2 | 14 | 14 | ..... | 2 | .. | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | 10 | 9 | | ... | | 3 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | 1 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 0 | | |
| 19 | Ramlal Mahto ... | 8 | 9 | 18 | ..... | 1 | 2 | .. | ... | . | . | 1 | 32 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | .. | ... | .. | ... | x | ... | 6 | 10 | 9 | 16 | 5 | 6 | | |
| 20 | Shib Dayal Mahto ... | 5 | 14 | 10 | ..... | 3 | ... | 2 | ... | ... | . | | 28 | 2 | 9 | | ... | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | .. | x | . | ... | 2 | 17 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 3 | | |
| 21 | Ramlal Mahto ... | 2 | 2 | 4 | ..... | 2 | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 | 15 | 9 | | ... | | 2 | . | 1 | ... | ... | ... | .. | x | . | ... | 0 | 17 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 6 | | |
| 22 | Ramjit Mahto ... | 0 | 19 | 14 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | . | . | ... | 1 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | | ... | | | ... | | | |
| 23 | Bharosi Mahto .. | 9 | 7 | 18 | ..... | 2 | 2 | 3 | ... | 7 | ... | 1 | 22 | 12 | 0 | | ... | | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | 7 | 17 | 2 | 9 | 11 | 0 | 1 mare. | |
| 24 | Kumkum Mahto ... | 0 | 6 | 5 | ..... | 2 | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 10 | 3 | | ... | | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | x | . | ... | | ... | | | ... | | 1 goat | |
| 25 | Phul Chand ... | 1 | 1 | 12 | ..... | ... | . | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | 6 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 2 | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | .. | 0 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 0 | | |
| 26 | Darshan ... | 0 | 19 | 1 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 10 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | ... | 5 | 1 | 3 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 0 | | |
| 27 | Kangali ... | 8 | 0 | 16 | ..... | 2 | ... | 4 | .. | . | ... | ... | 28 | 4 | 9 | | ... | | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | x | . | .. | | ... | | 19 | 8 | 0 | 1 goat. | |
| 28 | Tulsi ... | 4 | 10 | 19 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | .. | | | ... | | 1 | .. | 2 | 1 | .. | ... | ... | x | . | .. | 4 | 10 | 19 | 7 | 10 | 3 | | |
| 29 | Pathroo ... | 2 | 3 | 6 | ..... | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | . | .. | .. | 12 | 13 | 6 | | ... | | 2 | . | 1 | 1 | .. | ... | ... | x | . | .. | 1 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | | 116 | 13 | 11 | ..... | 32 | 1 | 27 | .. | 9 | .. | 6 | 493 | 2 | 3 | 19 | 6 | 0 | 62 | 20 | 55 | 25 | 7 | ... | 5 | 10 | 9 | 1 | 76 | 19 | 6 | 180 | 5 | 9 | | |
| | BARAHI. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | Jamahir Barahi ... | 2 | 4 | 12 | ..... | 1 | .. | 2 | | | ... | ... | 8 | 1 | 0 | | ... | | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | ... | x | ... | ... | x | ... | 1 | 12 | 0 | 2 | 12 | 3 | | |
| 31 | Manchit Barahi ... | 4 | 18 | 18 | ..... | ... | .. | 2 | ... | | . | . | 24 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 | .. | 2 | 2 | | x | ... | x | .. | . | 2 | 9 | 15 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 goats. | |
| | | 7 | 3 | 10 | ..... | 1 | ... | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 32 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | .. | 2 | ... | 1 | 1 | . | 4 | 1 | 15 | 6 | 1 | 6 | | |
| | HAJAM. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | Palat Hajam ... | 2 | 18 | 3 | ..... | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | ... | . | 8 | 15 | 6 | | ... | | .. | 4 | 4 | 2 | .. | x | .. | ... | x | .. | 2 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 2 goats. | |
| | NONIA. | 2 | 18 | 3 | ..... | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | . | . | .. | 8 | 15 | 6 | | | | 3 | . | 4 | 2 | . | . | . | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 0 | | |
| 33 | Rabi Nonia ... | 1 | 14 | 8 | ..... | . | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 12 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | . | x | ... | x | ... | | 1 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 2 goats has nim uksair | |
| 34 | Rabi Nonia, 2nd .. | | ... | | ..... | .. | ... | ... | ... | . | . | . | 14 | 0 | 0 | | ... | | ... | . | . | . | . | x | ... | ... | x | . | | ... | | | ... | | Ditto. | |
| | MOHAMMEDAN. | 1 | 14 | 8 | ..... | ... | . | .. | . | .. | .. | .. | 19 | 12 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | . | . | 2 | ... | 1 | 1 | . | 1 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 9 | 3 | | |
| 35 | Sheik Hassen* ... | 4 | 12 | 10 | Bel tree ... | ... | ... | 1 | . | . | . | ... | 23 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 2 | . | 3 | 2 | . | .. | ... | ... | x | ... | 3 | 9 | 0 | 13 | 4 | 0 | Mason. * Rent | |
| 36 | „ Nadali ... | 1 | 3 | 12 | ... | ... | . | .. | . | ... | .. | .. | 7 | 13 | 9 | 0 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 5 | ... | x | ... | ... | ..... | 0 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | for sairat 0-1-6. | |

# Second Village, Thana Nagarbasti, Tajpur Sub-division—*(Contd.)*

| Serial Number. | Name. | Land, including Bhauli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons. | | | | No. who labour for hire | Following, their caste trade or profession. | Position. | | | | Rent for Sairat. | Pahi cultivation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves. | Buffaloes. | Donkeys. | Cart. | | | Male. | | Female. | | | | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years. | Comfortable. | Lends or well-to-do. | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children. | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | **Mohammedan—*Contd.*** | B. C. Dh. | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | B. C. Dh. | Rs. A. P. | |
| 37 | Sheik Nabir ... | 0 16 15 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | 7 2 3 | 0 9 3 | 2 | ... | | | 3 | ... | X | . | ... | .. | ... | ... | 1 goat. |
| 38 | ,, Bhayah ... | 1 5 17 | Jack & Bel, trees. | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | 9 6 0 | 6 6 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | . | . | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | 0 9 0 | 2 0 0 | 1 goat. Rent for sairat 0-9-9. |
| 39 | ,, Turab ... | 0 5 13 | Bel trees... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 6 0 | ... | 3 | ... | 2 | 1 | 2 | ... | X | ... | .. | . | ... | ... | Rent for sairat 0-1-3. |
| 40 | ,, Turab, No. 2 ... | 1 1 3 | . ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 12 6 | 0 3 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | ... | X | ... | ... | .. | 0 17 0 | 3 8 0 | |
| 41 | ,, Bikan ... | 0 10 0 | ..... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 0 0 | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | ... | X | ... | .. | .. | 0 10 0 | 2 0 0 | |
| 42 | Nathu Safi ... | 0 16 17 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | 2 | .. | 5 6 9 | ... | 2 | 1 | 3 | ... | 3 | ... | X | ... | ... | .. | 0 7 0 | 1 4 0 | 2 Goats. Washes. |
| 43 | Santakhi Sheikh ... | 0 2 0 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | . | .. | 1 | ... | 0 13 6 | 0 8 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | ... | . | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | Washes. 3 goats. |
| | | 10 14 7 | ..... | ... | .. | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 63 0 6 | 12 10 3 | 16 | 8 | 24 | 6 | 18 | ... | 6 | 3 | 1 | . | 5 19 0 | 23 4 0 | |
| | **TANTIS.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 44 | Pancha Tanti ... | 4 13 17 | ..... | 1 | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17 14 6 | 1 6 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | .. | X | . | ... | 4 0 0 | 12 0 0 | 4 goats. |
| 45 | Rabi Tanti ... | 0 5 10 | ... .. | 1 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 3 0 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 46 | Dhano Tanti ... | 0 6 0 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 5 0 | 0 3 3 | 1 | .. | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 47 | Bachu Tanti ... | 1 13 2 | ..... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 2 9 | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | 1 1 0 | 3 0 0 | 1 goat. |
| 48 | Hibharan Tanti ... | 1 11 2 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | . | . | ... | 8 0 6 | ... | 3 | 1 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 0 0 | 2 8 0 | |
| 49 | Jamahir Tanti ... | 0 10 6 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 3 3 | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | X | ... | X | . | ... | ... | ... | 2 goats. |
| 50 | Sukan Tanti ... | 0 6 10 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 9 0 | 0 12 6 | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 51 | Phulchand Tanti ... | 1 10 11 | ..... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | ... | 6 14 3 | 0 11 9 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | 1 0 0 | 2 8 0 | |
| | | 10 16 18 | ..... | 5 | ... | 5 | . | ... | ... | ... | 55 4 3 | 3 1 9 | 13 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 2 | ... | ... | 7 1 0 | 20 0 0 | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DOSATHS. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 52 | Ghoghan Pashan | ... | 1 | 11 | 19 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | 14 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 13 | 0 | 2 goats. |
| 53 | Moti Pashan | ... | 2 | 11 | 4 | ..... | 3 | ... | .. | ... | ... | . | ... | 12 | 14 | 0 | | .. | | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | ... | ... | .. | ... | x | .. | 1 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 0 | Chowkidar. |
| 54 | Siwa Pashan | ... | 1 | 13 | 1 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 12 | 0 | | ... | | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 7 | ... | x | .. | ... | .. | 0 | 15 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 goat. |
| 55 | Bihari Pashan | ... | 1 | 4 | 19 | ..... | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 3 | ... | 4 | 1 | 5 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 goat. |
| | MUSAHAR. | | 7 | 1 | 3 | .. ... | 3 | ... | . | ... | ... | | ... | 37 | 10 | 9 | 4 | 10 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 13 | 6 | 16 | ... | 3 | ... | 1 | ... | 4 | 5 | 0 | 15 | 5 | 0 | |
| 56 | Guja Musahar | ... | 0 | 17 | 0 | ..... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | ... | . | | x | ... | | ... | | | ... | | | Chowkidar 5 pigs. |
| 57 | Pusan ... | ... | | ... | .. | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | ... | | | ... | | 1 | 1 | .. | 2 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | | | ... | | | |
| 58 | Kori ... | ... | 1 | 15 | 0 | ..... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 8 | 0 | | ... | | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 5 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 0 | |
| 59 | Palta ... | ... | | ..... | | ..... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | | ... | | | ... | | 2 | ... | 2 | 1 | 3 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | | ... | | | ... | | 1 goat. |
| 60 | Phajoo ... | ... | | ..... | | ..... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | ... | | | ... | | 2 | ... | 1 | 2 | 2 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | | ... | | | ... | | Do. |
| | CHAMAR. | | 2 | 12 | 0 | ..... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 12 | ... | 4 | 1 | .. | . | 1 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 0 | |
| 61 | Bantha Chamar | ... | 0 | 7 | 0 | ..... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | ... | 3 | x | x | ... | . | .. | | ... | | | ... | | |
| 62 | Hibharam Chamar | ... | 5 | 8 | 7 | ..... | 1 | ... | 1 | .. | ... | ... | ... | 18 | 1 | 6 | | ... | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | x | . | ... | 4 | 12 | 4 | 11 | 4 | 0 | 1 goat. |
| 63 | Radhey Chamar | ... | 1 | 16 | 11 | ..... | .. | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | 11 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | ... | x | ... | x | ... | ... | 1 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 goats. |
| 64 | Asa Chamar | ... | | ..... | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | ... | | | ... | | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | .. | x | ... | | | | ... | | | ... | | |
| | Total | ... | 7 | 11 | 18 | ..... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 27 | 12 | 9 | 0 | 13 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | 5 | 18 | 4 | 13 | 7 | 3 | |
| | Grand Total | ... | 176 | 18 | 15 | .... .. | 45 | 12 | 45 | ... | 15 | 3 | 6 | 790 | 10 | 0 | 49 | 6 | 3 | 138 | 70 | 138 | 70 | 66 | 12 | 26 | 20 | 17 | 1 | 114 | 11 | 10 | 281 | 4 | 3 | |

NOTE.—As information was volunteered about goats, it has been given in the column for remarks.
In the other two villages it was not given.

# Third Village, Tajpur Sub-division.

| Serial Number. | Name. | Land, including Bhauli and Pahi kasht. | Trees. | Live Stock. | | | | | | | Rent, including Bhauli, &c. | Balance due. | Persons. | | | | Position. | | | | Rent for Suirat. | Pahi cultivation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Plough bullocks. | Cart bullocks. | Cows. | Calves. | Buffaloes. | Donkeys. | Cart. | | | Male | | Female | | No who labour for hire. | Following their caste, trade or profession. | Poor or always in debt. | In difficulties in bad years. | Comfortable. | Lends or well-to-do. | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Adult. | Children. | Adult. | Children. | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| | BRAHMINS. | B. C. Dh. | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | | | | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P. | B. C. Dh. | |
| 1 | Hans Raj Misser ... | 3 3 13½ | 1 Mohua. 19 Mango trees. | 1 | ... | . | . | 1 | ... | ... | 4 5 0 | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | ... | ... | × | ... | × | ... | . | ... | 1 10 0 | |
| 2 | Gopal Misser ... | 2 16 1½ | ..... | 1 | .. | . | .. | .. | .. | ... | 4 12 3 | ... | . | ... | 2 | ... | .. | × | × | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 10 0 | |
| 3 | Magnoo Misser ... | 3 5 9 | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | 6 7 3 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 2 | .. | × | ... | × | . | ... | ... | 1 10 0 | |
| 4 | Son of Udho Misser... | 2 6 1 | .... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | 1 | ... | ... | 2 14 9 | ... | 1 | 3 | 1 | ... | ... | × | × | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 10 0 | |
| 5 | Widow of Giansan Misser. | 2 0 1½ | 4 Mango 1 mohua. | ... | . | ... | .. | .. | .. | ... | 3 10 0 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | × | ... | ... | .. | ... | 1 0 0 | |
| 6 | Son of Chamman Misser. | 1 12 6 | 4 Mango ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 6 0 3 | ... | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | .. | × | ... | × | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 7 | Chintaman Misser .. | 2 10 4½ | 4 Mango .. | 1 | ... | ... | . | 2 | ... | ... | 8 14 9 | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | ... | ... | × | ... | × | ... | ... | ... | 2 0 0 | |
| 8 | Ramhit Misser ... | 1 18 15½ | 2 Mango ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | 1 | ... | . | 7 0 0 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | × | × | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | |
| 9 | Bhikoo Misser ... | 3 15 1 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13 1 9 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | × | ... | × | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 10 | Widow of Lalji Misser | 0 5 1 | ..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 0 14 6 | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | × | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | TANTIS. | 23 12 15 | ..... | 6 | ... | . | ... | 5 | ... | . | 58 0 6 | ... | 7 | 5 | 13 | 4 | .. | 8 | 4 | 6 | ... | ... | ... | 9 0 0 | |
| 11 | Dhaniya Tanti ... | 2 10 6¾ | ..... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | ... | | ... | 9 14 0 | ... | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 9 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| 12 | Nankoo Tanti ... | 2 4 4¾ | ..... | ... | .. | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | 8 10 0 | ... | 2 | ... | 3 | 2 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | | ... | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |

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| 15 | Chuni Tanti | ... | 3 1 5½ | ...... | ... | .. | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 3 6 | ... | ... | 2 | 3 | .. | . | x | ... | ... | x | ... | 0 4 0 | 2 0 0 | |
| 16 | Hibbaran | ... | 0 6 15 | .. ... | ... | ... | | . | ... | .. | ... | 1 9 3 | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
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| 18 | Gumani | ... | 0 4 4 | ...... | ... | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | 0 15 6 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | x | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | |
| 19 | Ram Sinahi | ... | 0 15 0 | ...... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 0 7 9 | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | x | ... | . | .. | ... | ... | |
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| 22 | Rattan Gop | ... | 2 3 20 | ...... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | . | ... | ... | 8 13 9 | ... | | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | x | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | |
| 23 | Jagrup Gop | ... | 2 1 15 | ...... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 8 6 3 | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | x | ... | ... | ... | Has 5 sheep. |
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NOTE.—The rent of the Pahi land is unknown.

## ART. V.—THE NEO-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN LITERATURE:

### A PAPER ON THE PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF ART.

*Aim and Scope of the Present Investigation.*

THE development of literary art in modern history is a momentous theme, well calculated to engage our deepest attention and interest. Unfortunately no department of inquiry has been more neglected. There is a plentiful crop, no doubt, of modern schools of art, of recent theories concerning the beautiful and the sublime, of novel definitions of poetry, including the theory of the criticism of life, as well as the hypothesis of transfiguration. But the multitude of picturesque details has so overpowered the mind's eye that there has been no attempt to take a general view of the whole field of æsthetics, or a systematic survey of the progress of literary art and of the development of the art-consciousness, subsequent to the epoch-making Revolution of 1789. What is primarily requisite is that a wide generalisation should be arrived at concerning the idea, or central standard, that regulates the æsthetic instincts and efforts of our age, and it should, in the next place, be sought to trace the origin and development of this idea out of the deep-working currents and forces of modern life and society, as also to work out its filiation to the entire movement of æsthetic ideas in history.

No department of investigation dealing with the mental history of the race promises so much success, if we judge from the magnitude of results already achieved. Hegel's grand generalisation concerning the three stages of art, the oriental, the classical and the romantic, is one of the most luminous and fruitful that the comparative method has given to the world. Indeed, it is surpassed in immensity of range only by one or two generalisations of sociology. Comte's law of the three stages, and Herbert Spencer's classification of types of social structure in the order of their genesis, are certainly vaster still, but the one is exploded and the other has been only sketched in outline and awaits elaboration. The three stages of Hegel, on the other hand, have been accepted, with whatever modifications, in the highest circles of philosophical criticism. For an instance of an equally wide and comprehensive truth among the permanent contributions to the common intellectual stock of the race, we must turn

to those fields of research in which the comparative method has been most fruitful,—to philological, ethnic and juristic studies. The three stages of language, the threefold classification of family systems, comprehending the tribal structure, the Mutter-recht, and the patriarchal organisation, and Sir Henry Maine's law of progress from a condition of status to one of contract, appear to us to be alone fitted to compete with Hegel's classification of types of art in respect of high generality and wide acceptance. Comparative religion with its subdivision of comparative mythology, whether studied in the works of German writers, with their correct and comprehensive conception of the historic method, or in the schools of Tylor and Spencer, with their false simplicity and their reckless applications of the method of comparison unchecked and uncorrected by a historic sense, or a right perception of the historic method, yields no results at all comparable with those we have just mentioned.

The greater is our regret that an investigation of such transcendent promise has not been continued and extended so as to light up regions of art hitherto unexplored. Philosophical critics since Hegel have either been content with diversifying and amplifying the materials that are illustrative of Hegel's classification of art, or, what is very rare, have followed tracks of their own, thus losing the advantage of building on a solid foundation already laid. Ulrici, Lotze and Michelet among philosophers, Barante and Sainte-Beuve and Quinet, Gervinus and Taine among the historians of literature, Bauer and Schlosser among the writers on *Staatswissenschaft* and political history, have dealt in the spirit of comprehensive thought with theories and types of art. But Michelet's relation to Hegel is that of a disciple and commentator; Lotze, the physicist and metaphysician, is certainly at his weakest in his æsthetics. Ulrici is no doubt more "possible" in his theory of art than in his theistic doctrine of religion, but the best even of his art-criticism is the stress he lays on the central or regulative idea in his analysis of products of art, and this is Hegel diluted down to Ulrici. Bauer and Sainte-Beuve, Schlosser and Gervinus give us either fragmentary theories and generalisations, or admirable galleries of portraits unmatched for brilliance and historic verisimilitude. Taine, alone, fashions a new theory of his own, and, as we shall have occasion to point out, contributes elements of permanent and solid value, which fairly supplement and correct the Hegelian doctrine, but still, in respect of historic genesis and comprehensive classification, in the department of æsthetics, the latter must remain the ground-plan for all future superstructures. In a paper on literary art dealing more with genetic and

classificatory systems than with theories of the ideal, we may safely pass over the greatest of English art-critics. After this it would be needless to add that the psychologico-critical studies of *litterateurs* and *savans* like Sainte-Beuve, Renan and Scherer, or Carlyle and Mathew Arnold, Dowden and Bagehot, belong to a quite different category, and do not call for notice here. It may therefore be safely asserted that the historic classification of types of art, begun by Lessing and Winckelmann, and systematized by Hegel, however elaborated, amplified and diversified, has remained *in statu quo*, without that progressive extension, and fruitful application to ever new spheres of research which is so characteristic of every wide and luminous principle of science or philosophy.

## SECTION I

PHILOSOPHY OF ART.—*Hegel's teaching, modified, supplemented and extended.*

Yet it cannot be gainsaid that Hegel's doctrine of the three stages of art stands in vital need of such extension and correction in more points than one. Before adverting to these points, it is proper that we give a brief *resumè* of the fundamental teaching of Hegel's Philosophy of Art.

Art, like philosophy and religion, seeks to apprehend and realise the absolute. But each has a separate medium of reflection. The organ of art is the imaginative, or representative, faculty, *i.e.*, the Vorstellung ; that of religion (in its restricted sense), the faculty of feeling or emotion ; that of philosophy, absolute cognition.

Every product of art is therefore analysable into three elements, the idea which is sought to be realised and which may be termed the soul or form ; the representation or symbol, which is the body or matter ; and the reflection of the idea by the symbolical or representative matter. This reflection is more or less truthful, more or less harmonious, more or less vivid. When and where the reflection is faint and obscure, and the ideal insufficient to regulate the huge disorderly mass of lawless or grotesque images, as in the Indian Upanishads, and in allegories, analogies and symbolisms generally, the type of art is said to be oriental. In this primitive stage of art, the materials are pseudo-infinite in character and are illimitable and unconditioned, partaking of the indeterminateness and formlessness of the original chaos. In the higher developments of art, the representative matter loses its overwhelming predominance and its lawless grotesqueness ; it becomes permeated and vitalised

by the ideal or conception that is sought to be expressed. This graceful symmetry and repose, this perfect harmony between conception and symbol is the essence of classic art, of which Greek sculpture and the Greek drama are the most finished specimens, and which, in its turn, is followed by the stage of romanticism. If classicism be the balance, the harmony, the reposeful inter-penetration of form and matter, of soul and symbol, romanticism on the other hand lies in the transcendence of the matter by the form, the overthrow of the symbol by the soul, or in other words, the hopeless inadequacy of all representative matter and symbol to reflect the ideal or conception.

The above is a brief *resumè* of Hegel's characterisation of the three types of art. Our remarks will be confined to fundamental phases of the doctrine, in respect of which it requires to be enlarged, corrected, and brought up to date. We shall first state what appear to us to be its theoretic limitations; we shall then point to an important omission in the classification of types of art; and lastly, we shall endeavour to carry on the investigation beyond the point (the pre-Revolutionary age) to which Hegel brought it down.

A. Of the three constituent factors of every artistic product,—the idea, the symbol or matter, and the representation or reflection,— it is important to bear in mind that it is the character of the last which alone determines the type of art. It follows that the idea and the symbolical material may vary, and yet, so long as the relation between the two, or what is the same, the character of the representation of the former by the latter, does not change, the type of art will remain the same. On this view it is easy to understand how different arts, like poetry and painting, operating upon different material, may belong to the same type, such as the classical or the romantic. Within the domain of literary art, to which we confine our remarks in this paper, the same observation holds good. The epic, dramatic and lyrical varieties are broadly distinguished in matter as well as form, but this distinction of representative material is compatible with their belonging to the same type of art. Again, taking individual differences among poetic creations, the Hell of Dante with its realistic hard-featured outlines, differs in embodiment and configuration from the ideal shadows and supernatural horrors of Milton's bottomless abyss, but there is no difficulty in classing them together as products of romantic art. Similarly, the other element, the idea, may vary widely without correspondent variations in the type of art. Different phases of the absolute may be conceived by different artists, but, so long as the matter dominates, instead of being dominated by, the conception, the type is

oriental; or, where there is an equipollence and interpenetration of both, the classical note is struck; and so in products of a later stage, where the central conceptions imply a vast advance upon Pagan modes of thought, there may be finished specimens of the classical type, as, for example, in Goethe's Iphigenia and Tasso, and in Wordsworth's Laodamia, Dion, and sonnets generally.

Several conclusions which considerably modify and enlarge the Hegelian doctrine, are clearly seen to follow :—

(1). Art-criticism must mainly direct itself, not, as with Hegel, to the abstract character of the representation, but to the idea or regulative conception, on the one hand, and the representative matter, on the other, *viz.*, the rhythmic and articulate embodiment of perceptions and images, feelings and ideas. These constitute the fundamental and distinctive features of a work of literary art, and are not necessarily given by assigning it to one of the three types. Such classification, no doubt, is significant, and the character of the relation between the central idea and the representative matter, certainly exercises a determining influence upon each of the terms related, in a most important way, as we shall shortly remark; but still the classification is purely formal and abstract, and does not seize the substantive reality of the object of art. To say that Tasso and Milton are both romantic epic poets may be to give an important indication as to the nature of their regulative conceptions and their material embodiment of style and imagery, but apart from these side-reflections the statement would amount to very little that is distinctive or essential.

(2). Another and even more important point is suggested. The question of historic genesis disentangles itself from that of classification. The stages of art must not be confounded, as Hegel seems to have done, with their types. In other words, the historic stages of art depend more upon the development of artistic ideals or regulative conceptions, the types more upon the relation between the ideals and the materials employed. The evolution of art and of the art-consciousness therefore runs *pari passu* with the entire movement of ideas in history,—with the gradual unfolding of the absolute in the social consciousness of the race. Hence a narrow and one sided consideration of the possible varieties of artistic type, *i. e.*, of the adequacy or inadequacy of artistic materials to reflect the ideal, would be a miserable substitute for a true philosophy of art. For such a philosophy it is necessary to study the succession of regulative ideas in their historic march and development, or in other words, to trace the successive phases of the absolute idea which have realised themselves in the consciousness of the race. That is to say, a comprehensive philosophy

of history is a necessary pre-condition of a comprehensive philosophy of art.

It is almost equally fundamental to trace the development of the other determining factor of artistic products, *viz.*, the material conditions, from the uncouth mammoth bones of the glacial and interglacial epochs, to the grotesque Sphinx-like shapes and ever-fluent rainbow hues of Richter's, or Carlyle's, or Hugo's rhapsodies. Confining our remarks to literary art, the representative matter is an entangled skein of perceptions and images, instincts and intuitions, ideas and feelings, represented by symbols of language with appropriate modulation and rhythm. The development of these materials must be studied in sociology and the more concrete science of ethnology. All the factors of the social organism, whether primary or secondary, must be taken *en masse*, and the resultant of this complex system of social forces must be shown to shape and mould the matter of literary art. This is exactly the point at which Taine's perpetual reference to the environment, in explaining the genesis of any product of literary art, his "social *milieu*," and his "universe-idea," which is the ideal resultant of the race consciousness, supplement the Hegelian classification of art by giving us definite formulæ for apprehending the genesis of particular stages.

Fortunately, however, for Hegel, the successive stages of art, as independently determined by joint reference to the growth of artistic ideals, *i. e.*, the gradual unfolding of different phases of the absolute in the social consciousness of the race, and the development of material conditions of artistic representation, as given by the ethnic and sociological factors, coincide in the main with his abstract classification of artistic types. In other words, taking an early stage, such as Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty, or India of the Upanishad period, we find that the absolute idea is so manifested in the national consciousness, *i. e.*, the ideal of art is such, that it can hardly regulate the huge and grotesque mass of chaotic matter, which always marks early culture, so that the type of art necessarily becomes, what Hegel terms, oriental. Similarly, the peculiar character of the Pagan apprehension of the absolute made it susceptible for the most part of a full and harmonious representation by the materials available in the state of Pagan culture. That is to say, the type of art was prevailingly classical, so long as the central conceptions or regulative ideals of the artists did not transcend the pagan mode of apprehending the absolute.

But it should be noted that the coincidence between the stages of art and the classification of its types, between the genesis of ideals and the varieties of their representation, is only broad and general. The main channel along which

phases of the absolute idea have realised themselves, the main stream of ideal development, runs parallel with the main course of the history of artistic types. Admitting all this, it is easy enough to show that works which belong to the classical type have a place, and an important place in a stage prevailingly romantic, and for instances of the oriental type of art, where the conception of the absolute far transcends the oriental stage, we need only refer to Jean Paul Richter's grotesquely sportful humours and the resounding infinitudes of Victor Hugo, to the gorgeous purple of Carlyle's Vorstellung, or even the sober mist of Emerson's Wisdom, in many places.

(3). A third conclusion of great moment evidently follows as a corollary. The classification of types of art, which is simply logical and abstract, cannot exhaust the possible varieties of its concrete stages. So long as an abstract *fundamentum divitionis* is taken, such as the equipoise or disproportion of idea and material, the division of art into the oriental, the classical and the romantic types, will, of course, be exhaustive. But while this logical classification is final and stereotyped, the movement of history cannot be brought to a stand-still. The abstract classes of the logical text-book, as Goethe observed, may be labelled and numbered, but the individuals of nature are countless, and the stream of history is inexhaustible. The central ideas, or regulative conceptions, will move on in their orbits still, in endless progression, and pass through "numberless varieties of untried being." Again, the phenomena of life and consciousness, which serve as the material of literary art, have also a principle of growth latent in them; there is an evolution in the matter of consciousness, along with the development of regulative ideas. It is idle, therefore, to say, as Hegel says, that the romantic type is final, and that Art, as a historic movement, culminates, after the romantic type in religion and philosophy. Taine's conception is far truer. Art, instead of passing over into religion and being consummated in philosophy, runs in parallel lines with the latter, and is destined to new developments, along with the movement of speculation and with changes in the social environment.

In rejecting this claim of finality, we touch upon one of the weak points of the Hegelian philosophy. Critics, from Schelling and Weisse downwards, have pointed out that the dialectical development of the absolute idea, as traced by Hegel in his logic, fails to reproduce itself in nature or history. It is impossible, indeed, that it should do so: only a fundamental misconception of the nature of the dialectical method, for which Hegel must be held in some measure responsible, could have led to such an idle expectation. The well known appeal to Hegel for a deduction of the quill with which the master

wrote, was only a *reductio ad absurdum* of this fallacy. The dialectical method, it is essential to understand, is only a method of codification, of systematisation, of rational explanation, not a method of discovery. The dialectical method enables us to follow, not to anticipate, the process of things or the movement of history. Given being and non-being, by no abstract process of logical synthesis whatsoever, could we develop the notion of becoming,—nor when quality and quantity are given, can the same process, as by a creative fiat, usher into existence the notion of measure. In fact, it is not the abstract operation of the logical understanding that annihilates the contradiction between thesis and antithesis, being and non-being, in a richer synthesis ; it is the concrete movement of reality, the process of things, that resolves the contradiction, and the dialectical method is simply a statement, in terms of the understanding, of this real process or movement.

If this explanation of the scope and character of the dialectical method be clearly and consistently kept in view, it will result in certain important modifications of the Hegelian system. The relation of logic to the philosophy of nature and the philosophy of history will be conceived from a novel standpoint. As the science of the abstract development of the categories, or the ultimate and necessary conditions of existence, logic will exhibit a dialectical process ideally complete and consummated. Whether such a science is possible, does not concern us here. The philosophy of nature and the philosophy of history will apply the dialectical method to the explanation of the evolution of concrete reality, in subordination no doubt to the grand principles of logic, but the important point to note is, that the dialectical development in each of these departments will exhibit no material correspondence with the logical development of the categories. There will be simply a codification, a systematisation, a rational explanation, as has been said, of the course of evolution already completed. There will be no attempt to affix the stamp of finality on any particular stage in the series of historic development, which will be left to follow freely its own course.

Hegel, it must be admitted, has done violence to the facts of historic development and their actual order in his philosophy of history, and especially in his philosophy of religion, in order to exhibit some semblance of correspondence with the logical development of the categories ; but the attempt has ended in a threefold failure : (*a*) first, the correspondence between the logical and the historical series has not been proved, except in a most vague and figurative manner; (*b*) secondly, there has been a gratuitous distortion of historical facts and historical order, which seriously vitiates Hegel's philosophy of history and especially of

religion ; *(c)* thirdly, as the logical development is ideally complete and final, the theory of correspondence or identity has committed Hegel to the proposition that, the historic movement has also been finally consummated,—the declaration namely that the vistas of history, philosophy, religion and art have been finally closed. It is instructive to compare, in respect of this claim of finality, Herbert Spencer's classification of types of social structure with Hegel's in his philosophy of history, or with his classification of types of religion and art. Spencer provides compound social structures of the first, second, third, order, and so on in ever-increasing complexity, in an ascending scale of evolution, which admits of being indefinitely extended. He follows the same method in his classification of emotions (feelings), so as to afford scope for fresh and new developments. This compares favourably with Hegel's proud assumption of finality, forced upon him by a supposed logical necessity. Again, it is of fundamental importance to note that in his philosophy of history, and, as a matter of consequence, in his philosophies of art and religion, Hegel ignores not only the claims of futurity, but also those of primitive or prehistoric culture. The hundred different types of culture antecedent to such a relatively high type of consciousness as the Oriental stage cannot with safety be passed over in a philosophy of history, of art, or of religion. Such a philosophy is as incomplete and one-sided as Sir Henry Maine's sociological theory, which starts with a relatively high type of organic structure like the patriarchal family, and ignores the polyandrous systems, the Mutter-recht and numberless other primitive ethnic factors.

It will be doing a real service to the Hegelian system to extricate it from these difficulties by doing away with the theory of identity or correspondence between the logical and the phenomenal series, in such a way, however, as to preserve the sovereign rights of the former over the latter, and this, it is believed, may be effected by the modifications here proposed. The relation of logic to the philosophy of nature and the philosophy of history would, on this view, be of the same kind as that of Herbert Spencer's First Principles to his Biology and Sociology ; and, indeed, with the explanation that has been proposed above of its scope and character, the dialectical method of Hegel would be in fundamental agreement with the process of evolution, as formulated by Spencer, the two being mutually complementary, as determining the rational and real sides of cosmic development.

An application of the same general principle will clear up the question of the relation of the philosophy of history to the philosophy of art, or that of religion. The ideals of art

and religion, while participating in the historic growth of the social consciousness as traced in the philosophy of history, are not mere repetitions of the ideas of the latter; they require an independent treatment of the fresh material they contribute. The succession of regulative ideas or conceptions of art, for example, is not *identical* with, though *subsumed* under, the successive phases of the absolute idea unfolded in history. The tendency of Hegelianism, on the other hand, is to identify the logical with the historic series, or in other words the historic with the philosophical, the philosophical with the theological, and this last with the æsthetic, all involved in an intricate tangle of barren identity. We do not pretend to describe the actual system, which is immeasurably superior to what its quest of an abstract and universal identity would make it, if successful. But the very failures of the system as judged by its own standard, provide for its most precious legacy to human thought; for, apart from the dialectical method and the Logic, the most valuable and profound contributions of Hegel are his distinctive and characteristic sketches of types of art, religion, and the State, which comparative studies alone, and no amount of spinning out of the inner consciousness, could have enabled him to execute.

It remains only to note, under this head, that, when we speak in this paper of the oriental, the classical, or the romantic stage, we dwell more upon the regulative ideals and the materials of art than upon the character of the reflection or representation. For it is the former which constitute the different stages, the latter being only a secondary character, or accompaniment. Hence, when we proceed to describe stages of art subsequent to the romantic, we shall lay greater stress on the central ideas or conceptions and their material embodiment of life and consciousness, than upon the adequacy or the inadequacy of the latter to express the former. The ideals and the symbols being assigned, the relation between them may be determined with ease and certainty, but not *vice versâ*.

B. We shall next supply an important omission in Hegel's classification of types of art. We have seen him ignore the claims of prehistoric antiquity, as well as those of the coming race. He ignores something more—what may be called the transitional stage, a well-marked variety that flourishes between the dissolution of an old, and the advent of a new order. This assertion we shall make good by showing that in the passage to classicism, the oriental consciousness gave place to a transitional neo-orientalism, and (2) that a neo-classicism intervened between the classical and the romantic types of mind and art. The implication that romanticism has been followed by a neo-romantic stage, will be fully brought out in the next section of this paper.

(1). A close historical study reveals that the transition from one stage to the next higher is not so simple and clear as Hegel's account of the development of orientalism, classicism and romanticism, might make it appear to be. The fact is that every stage, before it is consummated and passes over into the next, is realised in self-consciousness, transfigured and raised to the Absolute. When Hegel states that art, after the romantic stage, passes over into religion and philosophy, all that he can be legitimately taken to mean is, that romanticism alone enters in its final state into direct and intimate relations with the Absolute, and is lifted up to the plane of self-consciousness. He does not allow this privilege to the prior stages of art. As a matter of fact, however, we have as much a religion and philosophy of orientalism, and a religion and philosophy of paganism, as the philosophic sequelæ of the romantic stage. Indeed, notwithstanding its abundance of chaotic, unorganised matter, orientalism sought to raise itself to the platform of subjectivity and self-consciousness in the succeeding stage of neo-orientalism which stood between itself and classicism. Of this neo-oriental type of literary art, the Indian Puranas are the most remarkable monuments. That interminable wilderness of grotesque sphinx-like shapes, uncouth symbols and misshapen forms; that endless matted jungle of fantastic semblances and analogies and serpentine involutions, which, in the strange chant and weird rhythm of the Upanishads, does in no respect rise above oriental art, attemping, as it does in effect, to materialise and phenomenalise the absolute and the infinite, becomes, in the neo-oriental period of the Puranas, a conscious and organised endeavour, unparalleled in history, to create a polymorphous symbolism as an aid to the apprehension of the absolute in self-consciousness. The mysteries of the Kabiri in Samothrace, the veiled allegories wrapping up the cult of Isis and Osiris, the deep symbolical significance, preserved for us in the fragments of Sanchoniathon, of the sacrifices and other "abominations" attending the worship of Moloch and Astarte and Adonai, are other and less striking instances of neo-orientalism, that is to say, orientalism transfigured and raised to the absolute. Of such neo-orientalism the last fruit was Oriental Christianity, which, with its primary mysteries of the Immaculate Conception, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection, was but the consummation of the Semitic religious consciousness. It was indeed Semiticism transfigured, historically determined as it was in each of its three fundamental mysteries by the three most pervading of Semitic institutions. The sacrifice of the eldest born before the endless forms of Moloch, which, however horrible or grotesque, had always been a symbol, as Sanchoniathon tells us, of the profoundest

self-abnegation, was transfigured in the religious conception of the Crucifixion;—the offering up of Tyrian, Sidonian and other virgins in the temples of Astarte, which, as we learn from the same source, had always signified the mystic and ecstatic communion of Man-in-God and God in-man. was transfigured in the Immaculate Conception ; and last, though not least, the resurrectionary mysteries in the wide-spread legend of Adonai, or Tammuz, the Master, became transfigured in the Christian Resurrection. The Crucifixion of Christ, then, the sublimest of all sacrifices of the only-begotten in the race of Shem, consummated the old order of the rites of the flesh, and initiated the new baptism of the Spirit. Indeed Gnosticism and neo-platonism themselves arose out of a fusion of these materials of neo-orientalism with neo-paganism which we proceed to characterise.

(2). For in the same way as orientalism, classicism, in the period of its consummation, grew strangely self-conscious, Paganism gave place to a philosophic neo-paganism—Nature to Spirit. The Platonic explanation and re-habilitation of myths and oracles, divinations, and sacrifices, was developed into an entire philosophy in the Alexandrian Schools, a philosophy associated in later times with the illustrious names of Proclus and Plotinus, and that most interesting figure of antiquity, Julian the Apostate.

But it would be wrong to suppose that neo-classicism was confined to the metaphysics of ritualism, or the philosophy of mythology. A movement which ultimately led to the transcendence of its own self, was latent in the classic Pantheon, a movement of which a careful study throws immense light on the vexed problem of the development of mythology. We refer here to the successive stages of the Greek Pantheon, and its gradual advance, within the limits of classicism, from naturalism and objectivity to greater individualism and subjectivity. In the first stage, Uranos and Gæa, Heaven and Earth, the parents of the Gods, represent the formlessness and vacuity of Nature, its lifeless life, its utter objectivity and unconscious repose. It was only in the second stage, that of Kronos (better known as Saturn, though the original identification was a blunder), that "visible shapes and symbols" of Nature's life were embodied in the Titans,—that individual force and energy, if only physical, came to disturb the blank dead repose of Heaven and Earth, and that the further advance was made from the Titans to Saturn, from the forces and energies of Nature's shapes and symbols to the conception of a Natural Providence, and all the wealth of suggestion contained in the idea of a providence. Anthropomorphism had fairly begun, and the result was that, in the next stage,

the Jovian brood, the apotheosis of the passions, sentiments and instincts of mind and society, came to supplant the naturalistic deities of the earlier stages. But it is important to note that the Olympian Gods were not disjoined from all exercise of sway over natural forces and phenomena; the sceptres of the Nature-Gods passed over to them; Jove, the Arbiter of the destinies of nations, was also the Red-armed Thunderer, Jupiter Tonans; Apollo, the very type of the Olympian Pantheon, the divine inspirer of poetry and song, still drove the orbed chariot of the sun, still bore the deadly quiver, still rained down pestilence and plague. Hence it was that the Pantheon was held back within the limits of classicism, though the tension was very great. These limits were, however, distinctly overpassed in the neo-platonic schools, when, in connection with the elements and elementals, and the quaternion, the Gods of the popular mythology, with Demiurgus at their head, were explained to be symbols of the operative processes and principles that underlie Nature and Mind, the *Natura naturata* in short.

Along with this neo-pagan religious philosophy, there flourished in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, a species of literature, Greek romances, in which was attempted a new artistic treatment of the theme of love that was distinctly neo-pagan in aim and spirit. The classical conception of love is well known, and is easily distinguished from the romantic love of our days, which is a creature partly of mediæval romance and chivalry, partly of the Celtic and Frankish organisation, and partly (and here the romantic passes over into the neo-romantic stage of love, properly speaking) of the modern doctrine of the equal rights of man and woman. The destiny of love in the after world, the question of its immortality and infinitude, had before this period been themes of many a myth and legend, and, as such, had been handled in the spirit of classical art by many of the great poets of Greece and Rome. But a cloud of obscurity hung over these questions; classicism had to outgrow itself before being able to grapple with the problem of the struggle between the eternal youthfulness of love and the inexorable decree of the fates. The Greek romances of the era we speak of, made, however, a new departure. The apotheosis of love was their staple; and, in thus transfiguring the classical love of the previous mythology and literature, neo-paganisn rose to a conception of love, in these romances, which was a wonderful anticipation of the romantic love of our days.

Another point of supreme interest need here only be glanced at: the classical conception of future existence and the underworld, advancing from the pale, flitting, unsubstantial shades

of Homer, through the sombre fateful gloom and retributive justice of the tragic trilogies, to the fine moral proportions of the Virgilian Tartarus and Elysium, with a subtle element therein of purification and metempsychosis, an element which, distinctly neo-pagan in character, was amplified and diversified in a thousand ways in the succeeding neo-platonic philosophy.

We have seen how orientalism and classicism both became subjective and self-conscious in the periods of their consummation, giving rise to transitional types of mind and art. The same observation may be extended to the stage of romanticism, which in passing away has left us in the twilight borderland of neo-romanticism. The history of the origin of this movement we reserve for a separate division of this paper. In the meantime we may pause to mark the fundamental correspondence which the introduction of a transitional term, like the one here proposed, reveals between the dialectical development of the Hegelian logic and the mathematical theory of Fluxions. In a separate paper we intend to give a systematic mathematical treatment of the Hegelian logic; in the meanwhile, we may point out that, while algebraic forms and symbols suffice for Boole's analysis of the ordinary logic, which is simply statical, and of which the ultimate laws of identity, contradiction and excluded middle, apply only to statical conditions of things, an analysis of the Hegelian logic, which is dynamical in its laws, forms, and dialectical process, must be attempted on the basis of Fluxional and transcendental mathematics, which alone provide forms and symbols for the expression of continuous movement and development. Now, it is well known, as a law of transcendental mathematics, that a continuous function, in order to change sign, must pass through indefinitely great or small values,—must, in short, pass through a condition of indefiniteness and, indeterminateness, with a tendency to become formless and limitless. We find this law holding good not only in the development of mathematical, but also of dialectical functions and moments, as we have just seen that, in the passage from one stage to the next, from thesis to antithesis, that which suffers the change is transfigured and raised to the absolute, or, in other words, tends to expand illimitably and formlessly before passing over into the antithetical moment or stage.

It may be here noted, *en passant*, that the forms and symbols of Fluxional mathematics, completely and systematically applied to the logic of development (or, phenomenally speaking, to the law of Evolution), will render it possible to treat mathematically of history, which is the material, or applied logic, of development. No one can doubt, after what has been done in the department of natural science in the way of reducing nature to a system of mathematical relations, that,

ultimately, history is susceptible of a like treatment, with the aid of *statistics, scientific generalisations and philosophic ground-principles.* It will be then possible to represent, not only the entire movement of history, but also the history of particular movements, as, for example, the history of literary art, or the subject of this paper, by the aid of continuous curves and the *general forms* of mathematical Fluxion.

C. We shall now endeavour to fulfil our promise of carrying the history of literary art beyond the romantic stage to which Hegel brought it down. From the preceding paragraph it will readily appear that, in our view, the romantic stage has been followed by the neo-romantic, in accordance with a definite law of transition. We now propose, briefly and rapidly, to survey the origin and development of the neo-romantic movement in literature, a movement which may be termed the badge of modernism in mind and art. One thing, however, we think it desirable to premise. We have already said that a stage of art is determined more by the central conceptions, or ideas, sought to be represented by the artistic materials, than by the adequate, or inadequate, character of the representation. Hegel, in his definitions of the oriental, classical and romantic types of art, does not make any distinction whatever in regard to their regulative ideas, or symbolical material, but considers the *differentia*, or *fundamentum divisionis*, to be constituted simply by the equipoise or disproportion of idea and symbol. We regard this as unfortunate, and, were it not for his philosophy of history, which made him perceive the fundamental differences among the ideas of the different periods, and guided his divisions into the three stages, his definition would have remain barren and unfruitful, mere abstract distinctions of type without historic significance or objective value. In our sketch of neo-romantic literary art, therefore, we shall bring into prominence both the regulative ideas of the age and the literary material of life and consciousness—the spirit of the epoch, as well its deep-working social forces and currents, or the social *milieu* ; and we shall finally formulate these results in a canon of neo-romantic literary art, answering to Hegel's definitions of orientalism, classicism and romanticism, though constructed, as we have said, on a quite different method.

## SECTION II.

### *The Neo-romantic movement in Literature, being a rapid Historical Survey of Literary Art since the French Revolution.*

Originating in the last century in Germany, in a half-sentimental, half-imaginative return to the Middle Ages—while the rest of Europe was seething with the germs of that

tremendous revolt against the mediæval order which expired in the Titanic energies of the first French Revolution,—having its first advent in the weird, ghastly ballads and wild-clashing dramas of Bürger and Goethe, Schiller and Kotzebue, this movement spread to England, where an antiquarian revival of Gothic art and literature had prepared the way for a historico-imaginative treatment in the romantic style. Numbering Scott, Ellis, Ritson, Warton, Gray, Leyden, among its adherents, it culminated in the sepulchral horrors and iron clank of Matthew Gregory Lewis. In France the mantle of the champion of the mediæval order fell upon Chateaubriand, whose masterly genius drew, as into a vortex, Augustin Thierry, Barante and a band of other young enthusiasts who formed the Historico-Romantic School. For, in reality, the French Revolution in Europe was conquered by the Middle Ages. The age of chivalry, over which Burke pronounced a funeral oration, came to life again in the imagination of those days, and, decked out in all the paraphernalia of picturesque imagery and *bizarre* sentiment, stalked among the children of light like Armida among the host of Christian knights.

But in this resuscitation, the mediæval consciousness underwent a strange transformation. What was revived was the double, the reflex of that consciousness; the antique in masquerade, the externalised, symbolical stage, risen through the negative criticism of the French Revolution, into self-consciousness and subjectivity. This all-important factor has made it essential to term the movement *neo*-romantic. Here, in the development of art-consciousness, an epoch began of the mightiest and most fruitful significance. Centuries before, the eruptions of the Goths and Vandals, through the overthrow of the Roman Empire, had given the death-blow to Paganism and the classical type of art and consciousness. A new stage had been introduced, the Gothic consciousness, which transformed the religious and social orders, and gave Feudalism and Catholicism to Europe. The world-building process was now dramatically enacted over again. The "telluric" phenomenon of the French Revolution, by overthrowing the mediæval order, heralded the advent of a new Kingdom of the spirit, the *neo*-romantic stage of mind and art.

It should be observed that in our historical account of the origin of the *neo*-romantic movement, we place little value upon the direct influence of the French illumination, and far greater stress on the German re-action against it, which transfigured the mediæval institutions and raised them to the absolute by lifting them up to the plane of self-consciousness.

Of this German re-action, Kant, Schelling and, above all, Hegel, were the philosophic exponents, so much so that

Hegel's philosophy was twitted as a restoration philosophy, and his metaphysics as a new version of mediæval scholasticism. While, therefore, dating the inauguration of the modern literary epoch from the era of the first French Revolution, we think it necessary to point out that neither the iconoclastic, red-handed fury of the Seine, nor the cadaverous glimmer of the illumination that had preceded it, did, in fact, or could possibly, directly favour the development of any type of art that presupposes a delicate culture of the idealising and imaginative faculties of the mind. It is easily understood *à priori* why this should be so. And we do actually find that the pre-revolutionary age in France was mainly distinguished by a rich encyclopædic, juristic and economic literature,—to speak only of the permanent contributions to the stock of knowledge, the main drift of which, as of the ephemeral materialistic writings grouped round works with such significant titles as The System of Nature and Man a Machine, was, strange as it may seem, to preach a mechanical subjectivity as the last word of wisdom in all branches of social and political science—a mechanical subjectivity which was the polar opposite of that egoistic subjectivity that lay at the bottom of *neo*-romantic art. The physiocratic school of political economy headed by Quesnay—the predecessors of Adam Smith—considered agriculture alone to be productive, depreciating the utility of human labour as embodied in the manufacturing industries; but, coupled with this mechanical conception of economy, was the subjective assumption that human legislation might with ease, and ought to, keep up the balance between agriculture and manufacture, that were initially so disparate. In juristic and political philosophy, civil, or as it was often called, artificial, society was regarded as only a complicated mechanism, put together under the *contrat social*, which might be taken to pieces and set up again at any time under a fresh covenant. In psychology, in the departments of logic, æsthetics, and ethics, the conception of mechanical subjectivity expressed itself unmistakably in the cardinal doctrines of associationalism.

Such rationalism was, no doubt, capable, in an intoxication of self-forgetfulness, of giving to the world a heroine of *Mabille*—if we may be pardoned for saying so—figuring as the Goddess of Reason, or the conventional forms of David's pseudo-classic revival, or even the Marseillaise,—but scarcely the Faust, the René, the Prelude, the overflowing sentiment of Canova's marble glories, or the unearthly revelations of Beethoven's mysterious symphonies.

Neither would it be correct to say that the romantic revival attempted by apologists of the mediæval order lik De Maistre

and Scott, who were untouched by the crucial doubt that was so universal, founded the epoch of modern literary art. For the origin of that art, a negative criticism was an essential pre-requisite, and it is accordingly in literary men and artists, who, while the universe appeared to them a huge Golgotha, yet by the fatality of a strange temperament, madly sought for the mysterious principle, that might stir the dry bones of the valley into life,—literary men whose lives and personalities, like lofty mountain summits, were sundered, as it were, into two by the bolt of Heaven, the Angel's Peak of ideal vision storming in upon the *fauces Averni* of naturalistic passion,—it is in literary men of this type represented by Göethe and Schiller, Novalis and Richter, Senancour and Guerin, Lamartine and Hugo, Wordsworth and Coleridge, men for whom the old wisdom and the old hope, the old faith and the old charity, have a profound and essential significance, though these are transfigured under the glare of the illumination,—it is in minds like these, and not in the crew of that Mephistopheles "who built God a church and laughed his word to scorn," that the neo-romantic consciousness attained to an articulate and artistic expression.

A sense of discordance or disturbance, of a want of proportion between the ideal and norm of consciousness on the one hand, and the embodiment and constitution of nature and society on the other, has been seen to be the vital characteristic of modern life and culture. Metaphysically speaking, the ideal process or movement of mind and consciousness, has been found not to correspond to the stream of tendency in the evolution of nature and society. This has begotten an epidemic of doubt and despair, which, appearing first in the systems of metaphysics and logic, and applied to the destructive criticism or negation of knowledge, of the logical or elaborative intellect, rapidly spread to the realm of imagination and feeling, stifling poetry and religion, and now threatens to cripple or paralyse the healthy and vigorous practical instincts of the race, so as to dissolve all social and political organization, having landed us already in the rank pestilential jungle of pessimism and Nirvanism, of Nihilism and Anarchism. It is beyond our present scope to deal with the logical and metaphysical aspects of this universal movement of negation;—in a paper on modern literary art, we must confine our remarks to the æsthetic and emotional phases of scepticism and nescience, with some of their bearings on the sphere of practice.

Two remarks on the metaphysics of emotion may not be here out of place:—

(1.) It has been reserved for our age to apply the Cartesian

canon of universal doubt to the criticism of the faculty of emotion in man. If the dualism of subject and object in consciousness, as a faculty of knowledge, be the standing enigma, the sphinx's riddle, proposed to every system of philosophy, what shall we say of the more perplexing, more irreducible dualism that limits and conditions the personal and social emotions, the organ whereby one personality perceives and is related to another. If consciousness, in attempting to apply the subjective norm to the object-matter, is arraigned of illusion and deceptiveness, what shall we say of that organ of the mind which, be it intuition or perception, sympathy or emotion, makes believe to bridge over the gulf between different individuals. For, if subject and object be related as unit and irrational surd, one personality is as incommensurable with another as an irrational surd with an imaginary expression! And if the intuition, or perception, of another personality be thus purely subjective; if self cannot transcend its own plane of existence, what becomes of the great sacraments of religion and society, of the fellowship with God and man? what becomes of Love and Sympathy, of Faith and Hope, of Reverence and Dependence, of Prayer and Communion?

How like the many coloured bubbles of childhood's play do they burst and vanish into the ambient egoism of the one isolated consciousness!

The question is, not what are the constituent elements of our notion of personality?—it is, how is our intuition of an *external personality* possible? Is it a case of unconscious transference, or projection, taking place under given conditions of perception, which would reduce it after all to subjective association, or a subjective necessity; or is it a distinct category which is objectively valid, as much as categories of the understanding, like substance and cause? If this latter be true how is it deduced, how is it filiated, what is its place and position in the dialectical development of the categories?

This is the crucial doubt, the great awakening of Buddha acted over again in the consciousness of our age:—not the *reality* of this emotion or that, but the *possibility* of any *personal* emotion at all, is questioned. Here, in the region of personal and social emotion, in the realm of religion and society, as Descartes said of the sphere of knowledge, what is supremely needed is a fixed point like that of Archimedes, a solid and immovable basis on which man may plant his feet and communicate the much-needed initial movement.

(2.) Over and above this Cartesian doubt, which is a universal solvent, and makes an infinite illusion of Love and Hope and Faith, there are antinomies of emotion, which

reveal the internal self-contradictions and consequent unreality in the personal intuitions and emotions of the mind. Love has its antinomy, its element of self-contradiction and suicide, its necessary limit or condition of dualism, which it seeks, as necessarily, to transgress or transcend. Hope has its antinomy, its struggle towards the fulness of light, while it cannot inhabit any other than the land of twilight, a perception of which truth made Spinoza say, that hope is impossible to the reason. The antinomy of Faith comes out well in that sentiment of Tertullian: The greater the impossibility or absurdity of the object of belief, the better for the faithful, for faith finds its fullest satisfaction or realisation, its highest subjective exercise, under such conditions! A little reflection will show that it is not the inherent dualism that constitutes the antinomy, but only the struggle towards infinity, towards the transcendence of all limitation or dualism, while such limitation is a necessary precondition,—a remark that may be made with equal truth of the Kantian Antinomies of the pure reason.

Neo-romanticism, then, the badge of modernism in mind and art, had its origin towards the close of the last century in a "fine frenzy" begotten of doubt and despair. A sense of discordance, as has been already said, between the inner and the outer, between spirit and nature, between the ideal and the real has been from the first the distinguishing mark of modern life and culture.

A disillusion or disenchantment has cast a lightless light, as of sulphur and brimstone, upon the universe. Love has been robbed of its illusion of infinity; Hope of its immortality; Youth of its innocence; Joy of its calm; in one word, life of its self-forgetfulness. The soul of man is an Enceladus, crushed under the dead-weight of a universe. The organ of introspection has fallen a victim to an epidemic distemper of a morbidly wakeful self-consciousness. The religious consciousness is passing through a horrible nightmare, and the vampire sucks the life-blood out of her breast. Mephistopheles, the emancipated intellect, is abroad. A misbegotten polytheism, or Fetichism, miscalled positivistic, offers hecatombs on the altar of the worshippers of Jehovah. A hundred flaunting banners and standards, with emblazoned devices and legends, stand unfurled where the veil hid the Holy of Holies. For, indeed, we moderns are the builders of Babel in the plains of Shinar, and a confusion has stricken us down. How many Babel-towers and Alma-castles and Armida-palaces has not the modern spirit sought in vain to erect, where it might take refuge in the day when the fountains of the deep will be broken up and the flood-gates of the universe let loose. Historic religion, positive revelation, signs and miracles, all such

bridges of the senses between the ideal and the real,—have been scouted, not as impossible, but rather as hopelessly inadequate, futile, degrading. Churches, so far as they differ from secular organisations, are a thing doomed to be swept away with the *debris* of ages. The social superstructure is perfect, as a machine for turning out hideous men and women. The old charities and pieties, the old household gods, Lares and Penates, have been forsaken of their worshippers. None of us but is a son of Eli, defiling and desecrating the shrines of the Spirit, the great sacraments and symbolisms of man's existence!

Such was the consciousness of discord in which neo-romanticism had its origin towards the close of the last century, and which is poignantly portrayed in the earlier literature of this new epoch. Subjectivity and self-consciousness were its distinguishing marks. A monster brood of novel emotions was the first fruit of this neo-romantic sense of discord. The Sorrows of Werther is a piercing cry of insanity born of the universal despair; the Obermann of Senancour strikes the note of infinite impotence and sterility; the Centaur of Guerin is like one of those mortals who, having taken up to their lips a fragment of the reed thrown away by Pan, thenceforward wander restlessly for ever, stricken by a secret madness. Even so late as the middle of this century, Heine, calling himself the Aristophanes of Germany, confesses himself outmatched in grim mockery by the great Aristophanes of Heaven! Insanity and suicidal mania; a sense of infinite impotence and sterility; the mortal madness of the worshippers of Pan; the horse-laughter of Pessimism run mad; the livid flash of humour playing on the black depths and the hideous chasms of existence; and, above all, ever and anon by fitful snatches, the wild dirge chanting the infinite illusion that clings to hope and love and faith and all such nurslings of immortality! This is a ghastly record of original contributions made, in its earlier days, by the new epoch to the genera and species of emotion hitherto subjected to artistic treatment in literature.

A period of criticism necessarily followed; and we live in this period of critical art, wherein the materials of life are being sifted, and an objective basis sought for life, so as to lift it out of the plane of over-subjectivity and individualism. A new synthesis and reconstruction of the elements and forms of life and consciousness—this is the main effort of the later neo-romantic literature of our day. Call it criticism of life, with Mathew Arnold, if you please; or call it imaginative transfiguration, with Alfred Austin,—the ultimate goal is a new synthesis or reconstruction of life and consciousness towards which the criticism and the transfiguration are so many

fragmentary essays. The situation, briefly sketched, is this:—in a general wreck of an old-order world, there is a stir of life and juvenescence. A thousand new truths are on the anvils in the forge of Minerva; a thousand new creeds and systems, based upon entirely novel ideas concerning the origin and destiny, the place and position, of man in nature, have come into vogue; a thousand new religions with new sacraments and novel institutions, social and political; an entire renovation or reconstruction of the social fabric, based upon a new criticism of the social instincts and the personal relations between man and man, have taken possession of the vacant and derelict mind of man that had been left deserted by Legion. To transmute these current ideas and conceptions into living institutions; to invest new truths and systems with novel emotions and images; to embody the modern ideal and meaning in correspondent forms and types and symbols, and thus to coin them into flesh and blood; to interweave them with the sympathies and affinities, the historic associations and imaginative interests of the race;—to make them essential conditions of the conservation and solidarity of the social *regime*, and thus to enlist the conservative instincts of order, obedience and reverence in their behalf; this is the vocation of neo-romantic literary art, as the High Priest of Humanity and the Divine Interpreter of the Universe.

Modern lyrical poetry is one of the most potent agencies in working out this new synthesis of life. It opens up a whole world of strange self-conscious emotions, of labyrinthine tortuous self-revelation, of original, intensely modern moods and characters and situations;—in short, of new-born instincts, intuitions and desires that, in their generic difference from the old-world hope and faith and imagination, may be compared with the fauna and flora of a new geological period. The lyrical problem is: to construct a new emotion, a new tone or harmony, out of given materials of life, *viz.*, one or two characters, a scene in the back-ground, and an artistically-contrived situation. DeQuincey's analysis of a lyrical poem as a work of art into the imagery, the sentiment and the conception, is still significant. The imagery corresponds to what we have termed the materials—the tissue of character and scene and situation. The sentiment we call the emotion, note or harmony which is struck out of these materials. The conception is the central idea round which the emotion plays, or which the emotion lights up. For, in truth, the invention of romantic scenes and situations is the mythopœic effort of our age,—the concrete embodiment of symbol and imagery is our modern mythology The new birth of an elementary emotion constitutes what is so vaguely called transfiguration; it is this newly-evoked emotion

that transfigures the imaginative materials of life. But our mythopœic, symbolising, imaginative effort, as much as the emotional transfiguration that accompanies it, centres round those regulative ideas and conceptions which constitute modern culture, and the modern criticism of life. What is fundamental and essential to the modern poem, therefore, is this criticism of life, this ideal content of consciousness. A criticism of life, followed by the building up of a mythology, or the mythopœic process—and lastly a transfiguration,—this is the effort of neo-romantic literary art and especially the neo-romantic lyric. In Goethe and Novalis, Richter and Heine among the Germans; in Lamartine and Hugo, Theophile Gautier and Musset among the French, in Browning and Buchanan, Swinburne and Gabriel Rossetti and Lewis Morris among the English,—a criticism of life in a greater or less measure,—a mythopœic process more or less active,—a transfiguration with more or less emotional freshness and novelty;—in one word, an effort, more or less successful, towards a new synthesis, or reconstruction of life and consciousness.

The neo-romantic movement, therefore, cannot be properly said to form a school. It represents a type, an order, a new stage, or stratum, in the evolution of consciousness. It marks as distinct an advance upon the preceding stage—the romantic—as that does upon the classical and neo-classical, and the latter upon the oriental and neo oriental, types of mind and art.

To sum up the results of the preceding historical survey in a convenient formula or canon of neo-romantic art:—

Two conditions are necessary to the genesis of the neo-romantic stage of mind and art:—(1) A sense of discordance between the inner and the outer, between spirit and nature, the ideal and the real. The social environment is one of *sturm und drang*, of fret and fury, of ideal revolt or uprising of the human spirit. The movement takes its actual rise, however, not in an unhealthy ferment of dissolution, but in an inevitable process which transfigures the old order, and lifts it up to the absolute by raising it into self-consciousness and subjectivity. Thus a current of transfiguration sets in, of which the significance will shortly be seen.

(2) The second element is that of subjective egoism, which, arising in the passage from a mechanical subjectivity, sets up the gratification of the individual consciousness as the standard in questions of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness. No stage of mind or art, however, can subsist in an atmosphere of mere negation; and accordingly we find that, in the course of the development of the neo-romantic art and consciousness, the negative element—the deadly strife with doubt and despair, and the subjective egoism—tends to disappear,

and critical and constructive elements come into play. At this stage there is a fusion of the two streams; the current of transfiguration of the old order mingles with the stream of positive reconstruction of the new. The confluence results in a mighty stir and commotion. An objective basis is sought for life, so as to lift it out of the plane of over-subjectivity and morbid self-consciousness. In the reconstruction, or new synthesis of life and consciousness thus attempted, novel ideas as to the place and position of man in the universe, and his destiny, a new criticism of social life and relations, and new ethical and religious ideals, possess the minds of men. The function of neo-romantic literary art is to embody these regulative ideas and ideals in correspondent types and symbols, to invest them with appropriate emotions and images, to interweave them with the sympathies and affinities, the historic associations and the imaginative interests of the race, and thus to make them essential conditions of the conservation and solidarity of the social *regime*. The critical and constructive elements of neo-romantic literary art may be systematically analysed and methodically registered by the help of a convenient formula, or canon, of criticism, which takes note of three fundamental aspects—

(1) The ideal content of consciousness, the regulative idea or central conception, which is here an objective criticism of life.

(2) The mythopæic process, or embodiment of this idea in a Vorstellung—which may be termed the mythology of literary art.

(3) The crowning transfiguration, or the birth of a new emotion, as of a new tone or harmony, transfiguring the imaginative material.

Each of these three fundamental phases of literary art is here formulated with special reference to what is distinctive and characteristic in neo-romanticism. Taking the regulative idea, for example, it is seen that in the earlier history of the movement, this element was determined by a negative criticism which transformed and transfigured the ideals and conceptions of the romantic stage; a transfiguration which culminated in an egoistic subjectivity, a morbid self-consciousness, an all-engulfing individualism, as has been described above. By the law of rhythm, to use Spencer's expressive term, a healthy reaction has been brought about, and the great regulative idea of this second phase, upon which the neo-romantic stage has entered, is to lift us out of the plane of over-subjectivity and give an objective basis to life and consciousness. To note only one or two striking manifestations of the spirit of the age, this objective aim has given to the world the synthetic systems of

Hegel and Spencer in the department of philosophy, the historic method in the department of history and politics, the conception of organism and organic development in sociology and ethic, the realistic school in the department of art. What is characteristic of our age is a criticism of life, by which we do not mean vaguely, with Mathew Arnold, a habit of judging by the standard of the best and highest that is known in any department, but what is entirely different and far more definite and tangible, *viz.*, an objective criticism, estimating and appraising things and institutions according to the measure in which they fulfil the end or law of their own being, or reflect the regulative idea of their type or pattern, and not according to the measure of their adaptation to our subjective desires, or individualistic appetite. This objective criticism of life and synthesis of consciousness amounts, indeed, to a correction of the parallax and aberration in the heliocentric system of Kant's critical philosophy. Thus it is that the objective criticism of life in a Göethe, or a Browning (for Browning is objective in his application of the natural history method to the delineation of mood and passion), rises superior, so far as the idea is concerned, to the dogmatism of a Milton, or even the marvellous unconsciousness and impersonality of a Homer or a Shakespere.

Similarly the mythopœia, and the transfiguration accompanying the objective criticism, are peculiar to neo-romantic art. To take the transfiguration, for instance, it is found to consist in the birth of a new elementary emotion that transfigures the imaginative materials of life, *i. e.*, an emotion which takes the place of the distinctively religious feelings in lifting us to the absolute and the infinite. This last element will be at once seen from our remarks in the previous section on the transitional stage, to be distinctively neo-romantic in aim and character. We should, perhaps, note that the term transfiguration is here employed in a sense quite distinct from that which Alfred Austin endeavours to affix to it. He uses transfiguration to express "an imaginative exaltation of the perceptions, feelings, thoughts and actions, of which life consists." Imagination and exaltation are the essential elements of Austin's "transfiguration." The exaltation is simply what Edgar Allan Poe would have called "intensity of sympathetic mood." Treating, as these writers do, of poetry in general, and not having any particular stage in view, they could not of course get beyond mere exaltation or intensity of sympathetic mood. In the transitional stage of neo-romanticism, the exaltation or intensity tends to expand formlessly and illimitably; and it is this particular form of exaltation, this lifting up to the absolute and the infinite, for which we desire to reserve the term 'transfiguration.' Further, it is not an image, but an emotion, that

constitutes the essence of transfiguration. This is the substratum of truth in Hegel's paradoxical saying, that art passes over into religion. The imaginative or symbolical apprehension of the absolute gives place to the emotional medium of apprehension.

It next behoves us to exhibit and illustrate, with the wealth and amplitude of historic detail, the course that modern literary art, as thus defined and sketched in broad outline, has followed in Europe. This would be nothing less than a comprehensive history of European literature, in its æsthetic department, for the last hundred years,—a supplement to Hallam's standard work, which has become a vital and essential need. For in our age, in a truer and higher sense than ever before, there is an organic unity and solidarity in European literature, which makes a general history necessary to the right estimation or understanding of any particular literature. Gervinus and Bauer, in their special histories, are fully alive to this fact, and endeavour to mirror faithfully the general European features of a literary or artistic movement, "the form and pressure of the age, the body of the time;" but this is impossible to do adequately without a standard history of the literature of Europe, since the first French Revolution, codifying a set of accepted generalisations. And so the special histories of modern literature, whether German, French or English, particularly the last, suffer in respect of comprehensive grasp, luminous generalisation and philosophic criticism. Their survey is not from the commanding height of the philosophy of history. Even Taine, philosophical historian and critic as he is, does not rise to the high generality of a European standpoint which a correct philosophy of history indicates as essential. In short, what Welcker achieved for the Greek epos and drama, and Theophile Gautier failed to achieve for the fine arts of Europe; what that master of romanticism, Barante, did not even dream of achieving for the literary history of the eighteenth century,—must be done for the past revolutionary literature of Europe, in its æsthetic department.

A task like this cannot, of course, be attempted in the pages of a Review. But it may be useful to note, in connection with the following section, that, if such a history be undertaken, the classification of varieties of literary art must proceed in the primary divisions, not upon outward differences of form or manner, but upon internal distinctions in regulative ideas and symbolical material. For these latter distinctions alone constitute schools of art. There is not an epic school, a dramatic school, a lyrical school; one school for the domestic novel, another for historical romance, another again for the society novel. These external differences of form, no doubt, entail important distinctions

in respect of symbolical material. The representative matter of the epic, which is a conflict of energy, is fundamentally distinct from that of the lyric poem, which is an outburst of emotion. But distinctions of external form, and even of representative material, when unaccompanied by divergence in central ideas or artistic ideals, are insufficient to constitute different schools of art. Omitting the novel, for example, and confining our attention to poetry, the hundred contemporary schools of European poetic art are, one and all, determined by differences in regulative ideal, and not by external marks of form, or manner, or even by mere distinctions of representative matter. The naturalism and individualism of the European poetry of to-day; its neo-paganism and pre-Raphaelitism; its *genre* painting and antique masquerade; its pot-boiling realism, as well as its impalpable transcendent idealism; its criticism; its transfiguration; its introspective analysis; its pathological interest, as well as its beautifully objective art, that sets the social "*milieu*," the historico-sociological forces against individualism and subjectivity, are only some of the varieties of neo-romantic literary art, and, as such, will demand notice in any history of European poetry; and their very mention will suffice to show that the classification of art in such a history must be based upon a philosophical analysis of the regulative ideas of our age, taken in conjunction with its matter of life and consciousness, and not proceed upon considerations of outward form and manner, or distinctions of subject or theme. Hegel's philosophy of art is vitiated by a lurking fallacy of this nature. The distinctions of type, and those of form and matter, almost exhaust his principles of division. The ideas play a subordinate part in the division, being valued almost solely for individual characterisation. Taine has a surer grasp and insight in this regard.

We have said that the best test and illustration of the theory advanced in the present paper would be afforded by a history of European literature, in its æsthetic department, for the last hundred years. Such a history would be more than a test and an application; it would lend shape and hue, and furnish material contents, to what is here presented in abstract and colourless outline. It would also provide opportunity for a classification of artistic types of the neo-romantic stage, *based upon a philosophical investigation of regulative ideals in their rational order and sequence.* Though the magnitude of the undertaking forbids us to apply such a test in these pages, we think we can provide a severer test still, though not one so fruitful or significant. We shall trace the rise and manifestation of the neo-romantic movement in Bengali literature,

and thus estimate the value, and measure the scope, of the present investigation. The differences in social environment and national history will no doubt exercise an important influence, which must be fully taken into account. It is all the more necessary that we begin with a rapid sketch of the previous stages, and then proceed to describe the origin and growth of the neo-romantic movement in Bengali literature.

(*To be continued.*)

BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL.

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## ART. VI.—VON NOER'S AKBAR.

*The Emperor Akbar: a Contribution towards the History of India in the 16th Century.* By Frederich Augustus, Count of Noer. Translated, and in part revised, by Annette S. Beveridge. Vols. I and II. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1890.

MANY readers of the *Calcutta Review* will be able to recall to memory an article published therein three years ago, on the life and writings of Friedrich August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, Graf Von Noer, as, after his marriage, he chose to be styled. It was an appreciative study of a life career unique in devotion to a literary mission, for which all the man's fervent zeal was able to enlist but scant sympathy, and which was prosecuted in the teeth of opposition from Philistine kith and kin, and from a weakling flesh continually warring against scholarly quest and endeavour. Von Noer found himself set by fate in the midst of environments but little propitious to an undertaking almost chivalric, after its 19th century fashion, and with its 19th century limitations. Mrs. Beveridge, with a woman's delicate appreciation of, and insight into character, traced the lines of the Count's own history; and a reprint of her article fitly prefaces Von Noer's *The Emperor Akbar: a Contribution towards the History of India in the 16th Century.* It is an article that will bear re-reading; and it ought to be read in order to the comprehension of Von Noer's attitude towards the times in which he lived, and its bearing on his attitude towards the civilization treated of in his History. For that History is written on philosophical, rather than on bald chronological and conventional lines, and its author's personality has been brought to bear on the work, as well as a conscientious effort to be impartial. An ardent Orientalism has enabled him to see beneath the surface of his subject, and to realize, and therefore adequately interpret, the events and transactions he chronicles, while his training in European critical methods tempers an enthusiasm which, failing such support, might have led him astray from the strait way of fidelity. Nevertheless, to Von Noer, who has no sympathy with the narrow, pragmatical school that sneers at hero worship, Akbar is a hero, a very masterpiece of kingship, whose presentment is, for the Dane who chronicles his deeds, all the more attractive because of an oriental background and chiaroscuro. He never forgets, however, that he is engaged in writing History and not

romance; is unremitting in research, assiduous in comparing authorities, careful to verify. In his work he had the benefit of counsel from such men as Goldstücker, Blochmann, and that practically minded visionary, David Urquhart. Mrs. Beveridge has been no less fortunate in her literary guides and advisers, and her glosses and foot-notes (*inter alia*) bear witness to the thoroughness of her work of translation and editing. Clearly the work has been a labour of love. By Mrs. Beveridge, by the way, Akbar is honestly recognized as a strong and stout annexationist, who saw no reason to blush therefor, and "before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales." Comparing him with Queen Victoria, she writes, "in him there was fully developed, moreover, another form of imperial annexation—that which absorbs enormous sums of money for the sovereign's personal use."

Von Noer's general introduction to his first volume treats of Indian geography, races and tongues, religions, philosophies, and political conditions in the 16th century; and is a sound laying down of foundations. Then we get a sketch of Fortune's cat-and-mouse play with Humayun, and the moral intimated seems to be, that in spite of a commendable "persistent elasticity" of character, he deserved no kindlier fortune. It is written, "that, in spite of his careless levity, he was no unskilful diplomatist, is shown by the feigned inclination to Shiah doctrine which first gained him the aid of Persia, as well as by the adroitness with which he subsequently freed himself from the inconvenience of the alliance." On which we may remark that, to his other qualifications for writing history, Von Noer added that of being a man of the world.

Amidst hardships and perils, in the thick of battles and carnage, plots, intrigues, treacheries, surprises, Akbar's babyhood and youth were spent. Here is a vignette of the penultimate stage of that unhalcyon time:—

> Sháh Qûli Mahram was the fortunate capter of the enemy's General. While the savage rout of fugitives and pursuers raged to a greater and greater distance, Hemú, sorely wounded, was brought into the presence of Akbar, who had joined Bairám Khan after the battle. The latter asked the Emperor to strike off the prisoner's head, and thus, by slaying an infidel, win for himself the coveted title of *ghází*; but the generous boy could not bring himself to kill a fallen and captive foe. To end the delay, and to accustom his young sovereign to the sight of blood, Bairám himself shore off Hemú's head. Akbar marched into Dehlí in triumph, with some 1500 prize elephants, and A'grah, together with the other towns and districts which had done him homage at his accession, yielded to him again without opposition.

It is curious to note the frequent and important parts played by Indian women in the politics of the period, Zenana restrictions and disabilities notwithstanding. The great

ladies of France who kept the Fronde going, were not more active, clever, or unscrupulous wire pullers of State affairs, and resultant partisan bickerings and mischiefs. For an account of these, readers are referred to the book.

Here is another tracing of Akbar's apprenticeship to the art of government:—

> When affairs had been arranged in Málwah and valuable presents bestowed on Pír Mumhammad and the local *jágírdárs*, Akbar set out on his return march to A'grah. In the neighbourhood of Narwar he was riding ahead alone, when a tigress, with five cubs (!) came out of the jungle into his path. Without hesitation he drew his sword, and at one blow stretched her on the ground. When his retinue came up and saw him standing quietly near his dead foe, many a chief among them may have foreboded that there was now to do with a sovereign who, spite of his youth and previous dependence, would be able to give rebellion its fitting chastisement. In any case, this episode afforded Akbar an opportunity of making manifest the personal courage and cool resolution which he evinced so amply in later years.

The note of interjection after 'cubs' must be read and noted as part of Von 'Noer's commentary on the incident. Less astounding, more authentic looking instances of the youthful Emperor's intrepidity and prowess are not, however, wanting. The apochryphal tiger story probably got grafted on to them as tiger stories will do; but, for all that, it may have an idicative worth of its own.

Akbar's preternaturally sharp sword may have typical value, even as, before his time, Arthur's *Excalibur* had. To the end of his days the Emperor was innocent of such accomplishments as reading and writing. His son and successor, in his Memoirs, refers slightingly to the father's shortcomings in this respect, speaking of him as *ami—i. e.* an illiterate person. The tutors who had charge of his education in youth, do not seem to have taught him much beyond the elementary formalisms of religion, and (as a counter irritant?) mystical Persian ghazals. The sowers of this seed never dreamt, probably, of the crop of unorthodoxy and scepticism they were promoting. Fate's fashioning instruments do their errand more blindly than even Justice. The best and most influential schoolmasters Akbar had in his youth were adversity, and the quickwittedness and self-sufficiency born of peril and constant anticipation of more to come. Von Noer, in common with Abul Fazl, holds that the Emperor owed much of his subsequent enlightenment and toleration, to the early teachings of Abul Latif, the generous minded tutor, whose chosen motto was—Peace with all. Like Humayun, he had diplomatic gifts; and his theological views were, we are told, so moderate and impartial, that he passed in Persia for a Sunni, and in Hindustan for a Sheah.

Albeit, "his speech was proud and unfettered ; it rose boldly and independently above all sects, and conformed only to the inspirations of conscience, and the judgment of a reason unclouded by passion." Which means that the early bent of the twig has to be taken into account in forming an estimate of Akbar's character and predispositions.

Akbar had grand family traditions,* amongst them encouragement of the liberal arts and literature. While yet very immature in years and experience of the world, he grasped, an tenaciously held fast by the cardinal idea, that for Timur's successors, the one supreme question was preservation of his Empire. On that matter of vital concern Akbar, while yet, according to pedagogic lights he should have been very much in *statu pupillari*, was able to concentrate undivided energies : none of his faculties were cramped in the grooves, or stunted by the mechanical processes, of a pedantic dominieism. Surely in this the Fates were kind, seeing what manner of work there was set this man to do in his kingship.

Regarding the effect of family traditions and heredity on his religious development, we quote—

> His father is declared by authentic witnesses to have been a strict Sunní; his mother, on the other hand, who was the daughter of a scholar of noble Persian extraction, may safely be assumed to have been a Shí'ah ; his tutors included professors of both doctrines, and about his person there were men who held themselves detached from either. The prince appeared to have been reared, like his father and his forefathers, according to the Hanafí rites of the Sunnís, but this did not prevent him from following, from an early age, the fashion of pilgrimage to the shrines and tombs of Muhammadan saints which was prevalent among the Shí'ahs. Among shrines, he held in special reverence those of Pír Salím Muhammad Chishtí on the hill of Síkrí, near Agra, and of Khwajah Muí'nuddín Chishtí at Ajmír † He made pilgrimages regularly each year, and also before or after any unusually important and solemn action. This practice proves what is stated in the records of Christian missionaries, in contradistinction to the later assertions of Badáoní, that Akbar was never indifferent in matters of religion. As he attained conscious independence of thought, it was inevitable that his tolerant and liberal disposition should be repelled, in an increasing degree, from the rigid forms of the Sunní creed. Outward circumstances strengthened his mental bias, for as in Europe, so also in the East and particularly in India, the 16th century was an age of universal intellectual ferment. East and West, in all quarters, and under the most diversified forms, there was a stir of intellectual life. It was a period in which mankind rose to renewed mental effort from the crushing repression of the savage and brutal Middle Ages, and in which the universal spiritual awakening took action, in a pressing forward from serfdom towards freedom, and in the thirst for something of whatsoever kind, higher and better.

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* Von Noer styles Babar "the Bayard of the East."

Von Noer holds that the doctrines of Sufism * were of pre-eminent importance in Akbar's religious development. They were advocated by both Abul Faizi and his brothers; and their most celebrated adherent in Hindustan, Shaïkh Ṭajuddin of Delhi, was one of the Emperor's favourites.

For posterity the most salient side of Akbar's concept of religious duty is his grand freedom from intolerance; a quality rarely met with in autocrats in any age, and very conspicuous by its absence from the spacious times of great Elizabeth in England, from Charles the Ninth's holocaust to St. Bartholomew in France, and from Calvin's passing of Servetus through the fire at Geneva, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. And yet London, Paris and Geneva were head centres of European civilization and progress in Akbar's time. That man is more than brave who, counting the cost, deliberately sets himself in opposition to the spirit of the age, when it is working in concert with his own trusty friends and well wishers; the men who are, moreover, the main stays of his hold upon throne and dominion.

No light labour, depend upon it, was Akbar's discomfiture and rout of the bigoted Ulema, though ridicule, instead of Herculean club, was the engine characteristically employed to bring about riddance of bad rubbish—of mischievous dictatorial assumptions, wholesale peculations, unappeasable greed. Von Noer, in his account of the stormy debates in the Ibádat Khana, draws an instructive picture of their absurd sides, and the uses to which Akbar put them. Orthodox disputants, we are told, not seldom disagreed utterly with one another on important points, and bandied to and fro accusations of godlessness and heresy, thus exposing and courting attack on weak armour joints: their aguments are adjudged to have been for the most part feeble and impotent. Whence it followed, in a natural

* Apropos of Sufism he writes towards the close of his first volume :—

Súfism is, on the one hand, the rebellion of free thought against the coercion of a creed, on the other it is an expression of man's deep yearning after a knowledge transcending the limits of experience—the eternal and never-stilled metaphysical prompting origin. Between Súfism and the wisdom of India, the doctrines of salvation of the Buddha Sakyamuni and Zoroaster, there exist delicate lines of agreement, and the theory gains ground that Súfism has a genuine Indo-aryan origin." It is certain that it germinated in the soil of the Islâm, but its later inferences are in sharp antagonism to the letter of the Quran. Hence arose the necessity of preserving appearances, and of defending, with dextrous sophistry, its daring innovations, by the injunctions of Muhammad himself, in order to be able to propagate, as a permitted luxury, the forbidden fruit of its tree of knowledge.

*e g.* 19th century Czars' attitude towards that "Unorthodox" Greek Church of which their Majesties are not ex-officio Pontifices Maximi, and their barbarous treatment of their Jewish subjects.

sequence, that "wild cries sounded, clenched fists and flaming eyes were displayed before Akbar, and this by the revered Ulama, who, instead of bringing forward objections and making defence with moderation and dignity, shouted like a pack of ill-bred school boys." And Akbar did *not* assume the role of Moderator, commonly deemed indispensable in ecclesiastic convocations all the world over; on the contrary, he encouraged the witty and unorthodox of his court, as well as its more sober Sir Thomas Mores, to push Ulemic Phariseeism to a *reductio ad absurdum*. There was yet another element of confusion brought to bear, more or less, on conferences at the Ibádat Khana—"Akbar's bias in favour of things Hindu," to wit. In taking account of which, weight must be allowed to Zenana influences, concessions to faiths cherished by the Rajput Princesses who were his wives and consorts, with whom he solemnized the *homa* sacrifice, and a form of fire worship. His Haram guards he chose from Rajput clans: in his Council halls he was closely fenced about by warriors and statesmen drawn from Hindu races. The Brahman Purukhotam taught him the secret wisdom of the Hindus, and instructed him in their sacred language. Debi, another Brahman guide to knowledge, in order that he might be conferred with, used at night times to be hauled up the palace wall on a charpoy, to the level of a balcony in which the Emperor sat—an uncomfortable, supererogatory fashion of granting audience, adopted for the Brahman's sake, "possibly because he did not wish to pollute himself by the immediate presence of an unbeliever." Akbar was great man enough to overlook the impertinent silliness, for the sake of the knowledge to be got therewithal. The balcony parleys, over and above their intrinsic object, have significancy as an indication of character. It was from Brahman wells that Akbar imbibed the doctrine of metempsychosis. Parsis and Jesuits had also their share, if a comparatively insignificant one, in expanding his leanings towards reverentism. These, however, do not appear to have been strong, either initially or in development, towards the unknown and unknowable.

The man reverenced himself and his work in the world, more than abstractions and creeds, which were either leagued with, or lapsing into effete formalism. The practical outcome of all this hurley-burley of discordant motive forces was, that the Ulema who had primarily denounced Akbar as a heretic, finally dubbed him "most Mahommedan of Kings,"—rabid clericalism being differently minded to the trodden worm that turns.

After this compliment the Sovereign, feeling doubtless that assured victory had been won all along the line, confiscated much ecclesiastical property, and assigned it to better uses,

dividing it among the deserving poor and *genuine* scholars. He furthermore decreed that Mahommedanism should no longer remain the State religion—and, allowing his rooted dislike of everything Arabian to blaze up for the nonce,—avowed his contempt for the Koran and its ordinances. These being in his estimation objectionable, firstly, as being opposed to reason; secondly, as being modern; thirdly, because their founder was "one of those poor Arabs whom he called malefactors and brigands." So Badaoni writes—though Badaoni makes the most of Akbar's hostility to orthodox Islam. Contempt for the Koran, growing with growth of self confidence, culminated in prohibition of the formula:—There is no God but God and Mahommed is his Prophet, for which was substituted:—"There is no God but God, and Akbar is his Vicegerent."

Following suit, courtly chroniclers commenced their pages with oft repeated *allahu Akbar*, instead of *Bismillah*. Akbar seems to have encouraged "Akbar is God," as a fit translation of the equivocal Shibboleth. Perhaps he deemed apotheosis a politic stroke of statecraft; perhaps he was more human, and liable to have his head "turned" by success, than Von Noer supposed. That biographer's first volume concludes thus:—

> The accounts of Akbar's apotheosis must be received with circumspection. The poets of his time gave him almost divine honours in the exaltation of their odes, but it must be remembered that the heaven-storming phantasies of poets cannot be measured by any ordinary metre. Recall Horace and his successors! Badáoní certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great Emperor. He, however, was never in intimate relation to the Dín i Ilahí, he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace, marred, and alloyed by popular modes of perception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a god of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic, and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity,—generous and universal tolerance in matters of religious belief. If in very deed he had contemplated the deification of himself ("Verabsolutirung seines Ich"), a design certainly foreign to his character, these words of Voltaire would serve as his vindication: "C'est le privilège du vrai génie, et surtout du génie qui ouvre une carriére, de faire impunément de grandes fautes."

Akbar's genius for making order out of chaos, for business-like arrangement of State business, for managing faculty in matters of detail as well as in more imperial concerns, are ably and succinctly set forth in Chapter V, which deals with the internal administration of the Empire. The fiscal, judicial, politico-economic methods generally that obtained in India under Akbar have had sufficient exposition at many competent hands.

Our only commentary on Chapter V need be that Akbar (like many versatile and energetically minded heads of departments) seems to have been prone to doing too much of the work of his subordinates himself, meddling too much with details, trusting too little to the discretion of officers in responsible charge. In the civil business of the State in his time, however, such fussiness—dare one call it, in connection with Akbar the Great—was possibly, in the long run, more productive of good than of harm.

But its influence on the conduct of military affairs was distinctly, unqualifiedly mischievous. Commanders in the field were fettered in action by etiquette designed for use at Delhi, and by Court commands necessarily unintelligent, because theoretical, and promulgated from a base too far distant from the scene of action to be serviceable there. Besides, having been, as courtiers all through their lives, drilled and accustomed to dictation at every point, the Generals for the most part, when obliged to act on their own responsibility, either had no initiative talent of their own, or, instead of putting the objective of their operations foremost in their schemings, could only remember that they were courtiers.

## II.

Count Von Noer did not live long enough to complete and elaborate the second volume of his History. That work has, at his wife's request, been undertaken by Dr. Buchland, to whom the Count's papers, voluminous notes, extracts from original records, &c., &c., were made over for the purpose. We may suppose, therefore, that the thread of the author's scheme has not been broken, or the scope of the work curtailed. In this connexion we may mention, as the worst blemish we can discover in the first volume, a seeming want of fixity in the scheme of arrangement. The reader is pitchforked now and again from one topic to another in an irritating way. In Vol. II, it is easier to follow the trunk road indicated.

The period from 1576-77 to the date of the completed conquest of Kashmir is held to form a new era in Akbar's life story—one which may be distinguished as that of the pacification of Hindustan. It is an era, nevertheless, full to surfeit of battle-clang and blood. In it the imperial sword, however, is no longer drawn for conquest only, but to maintain internal peace and the reign of law. Imperialism wrested from opportunity at the sword's point ever entails the shadow of the sword—even when the wearer of the laurel is himself disposed to wield only the blunt sword that is one of his insignia of justice-doing between man and man.

Dazzling as was the height to which Akbar had attained as a conquering king, much was still wanting to consolidate his power,

for the great diversity in the constituent parts of his empire rendered its coherence feeble. It is true that, from the beginning Akbar endeavoured, by tempering just severity with diplomatic propitiation, to promote homogeneous unity, but although he repeatedly sheltered the oppressed and converted the vanquished into faithful friends, it was impossible to stifle the sparks of disaffection which glimmered under the ashes, and broke into flame before the slightest breeze. There dwelt in his realm followers of two faiths, separate by blood, custom, civilization, law and religion, and who were more sharply opposed to one another than was the German at the end of the 12th century to the subjugated Slav of the Baltic. If, in this latter case, the conqueror was the superior in culture and knowledge, it was by no means uniformly so with the Mughul. It was truly wise of Akbar to bend the force of his steadfast will to the redemption of the Hindús, for it was from amongst them that he chose Todar Mall, the best and consequently, by the Mughuls, best-hated statesman whom Hindústán had seen since the days of Baiám Khán.

God himself commands us to despise Hindus, said Shiah and Sunni alike, supporting a contention which had hate, and greed, and hope of loot to recommend it, by citations from the Koran. Here is one of the enactments abrogated by Akbar. It helps vividly towards realization of the strength and unreason of the bigoted intolerance against which he set himself to contend :—

" When the collector of the Diwán asks them, (the Hindús) to
" pay the tax, they should pay it with all humility and submission.
' And if the collector wishes to spit into their mouths, they should
' open their mouths without the slightest fear of contamination, so
' that the collector may do so. The object of such humiliations
' and spitting into their mouths is to prove the obedience of infidel
" subjects under protection and to promote the glory of the Islám,
' the true religion, and to show contempt to false religions."

Says Von Noer in justification of his hero: "If he desired to reconcile antagonisms so horrible, and to lead his subjects towards a nobler future, he was compelled to assume the position of God's shadow on earth, and of a bearer of the divine commission." Abul Fazl agreed with his masterful master that only by means of his commanding personality—borne upwards by high ideals above the brawls of tribes and parties—could that master secure foundations for a united Empire, and diffuse, far and wide throughout it, the blessings of peace and security. "But such an augmentation of royal power, such aspiration after real civilization and legal administrations under the one Padshah in whom the State should be incarnate, was a thing unheard of by the abitrary and self seeking grandees." Were only the grandees arbitrary and self seeking? Human nature as well as prudential considerations, resented such transcendental absolutism as Von Noer sets the seal of his approval to.

One wonders what his critical verdict was on what was do

at Runnymede, when English Barons wrung the great charter from King John.

Von Noer's book helps to the comprehension not only of Akbar's rise and progress in the gospel of autocracy, but also to a better comprehension of German acquiescence in the absolutism of the unproven German Kaiser of to-day. What Von Noer characterizes as Akbar's "levelling ordinances" were, he thinks, greeted joyfully by the mass of the people, as being rich in blessings. For our part, judging by what the masses are at this day, we more than doubt whether they ever heard of, knew of, or dreamt of, these levelling ordinances, the effect of which upon *their* condition in life must have been—Nil. Had no other barrier, than what some writers are fond of dubbing oriental feudalism, existed between them and acquaintance with what was being paper-ordained at Court, that alone would have sufficed to guarantee ignorance. Akbar's assertions of the supremacy of the Crown against the encroachments of the nobility no more affected the people than did Cardinal Richelieu's similar procedure in France. In saying this, we do not forget that the traditions of Mahomedan government are based on a theoretically democratic foundation.

Neither should it be forgotten that theory and practice have amicably agreed to differ, ever since the faculty of human thought was invented. Von Noer himself admits that "in time of peace, the grandees of the Empire, the privileged feudatories, the Jagirdars, were petty kings; in time of war they were more often the allies than the servants of their Padshah." And the lower classes under their heels were serfs of the soil, just as much as ever were Russian Moujiks.

An informing chapter is that devoted to the Raushanis and their tenets, and the share these had in genesis of Akbar's war in Kabul. Bayazíd Ançari, founder of the Raushani" sectarianism, "fanatical dreamer, enthusiast, and philosopher," was, in brief, the founder of a rival religious cult to *Allahu Akbar*—Akbar is God—and was, as such, obnoxious to the Akbar who countenanced that interpretation of the formula.

"As a religious founder, Bayazíd was a thorough specialist, while Akbar, for his happiness, was a dilettante. For this reason, belief in Akbar's divinity died out sooner than that in the Raushani." Far outstripping Shiah doctrine, Bayazíd's gospel was gnostic Islam—Islam of the Ishmaelites.

Born at Jullundur, accident of relationship made the Afghan hill country between the Gomal and Kúram tributaries of the Indus his domicile. There his mother was—for no fault it would seem—divorced. There, stung by the neglect of a severely orthodox and learned father, he asked protestingly of infinity—"Here are the heavens and the earth, but where

is God?" Getting no answer he made himself a God; at first, perhaps, not quite a God, but at least God's Vicegerent on earth. It is advisable here to quote at some length :—

Let us briefly set forth the tenets of the Ismà'ilitic confession.* The Sunní creed rests for justification on Muhammad's incomparable position as a man, together with the Qorán as the word of God. All further decision as to matters of faith it submits, not to any individual, but to the concurrence of all the faithful who have ample knowledge of tradition. In this it follows Muhammad's spirit, which conceived, as the one sole link between God and man, the creed of submission to the divine law. It was not a political principle only, but also a religious one, which induced the Shí'ahs to advocate the theory of the transmission of the succession to Muhammad through his daughter Fatima to the 'Alídæ.

The holy spirit of the Prophet, passing on through generation to generation, created an authority which was infallible not only in spiritual matters but also in temporal. The unity of the divine kingdom on earth, when withdrawn from erudite discussion, seemed assured by this means only, and by this, too, seemed best guaranteed the certainty of living in closest harmony with the divine will. The tendency to seek for a real and spirit-stirring presence of supernatural divinity, in an earthly and perfect leader of the theocracy, comes out in the teachings of even the moderate Shi'ahs who honour the eleven 'Alídæ, the Imáms of the past, together with the Mahdí, as the twelfth and coming fulfiller of God's kingdom. This *gnosis* emerges in a less tolerant but more logical form in the third century of the Hijra, the time of Muhammadan renascence when its theology came into contact with Greek and Roman philosophy. The outlet of Trinitarianism had been cut off by Muhammad; what besides Pantheism could draw down the Creator to the creature, or raise the latter to the exalted One? and what was more easy than Pantheism which is the final result of that doctrine of Oneness which the *Sunna* makes the *alpha* and *omega* of its system? The ideas contained in the Enneads of Plotinus, which, under the name of Aristotle's Theology, transmitted this conception of the universe in its most complete form to the Moslim world, entered into two combinations with Islám when made current by the Mu'tazílís—first with the Muhammadan ritual (*askesis*) and secondly with the doctrine of the propagation of the divine spirit of the Prophet in the 'Alídæ.

'Abdallah Qaddah who, in the middle of the ninth century, deve-
864 A.D. loped the Isma'ílitic sect, based his *gnostic*
entirely on the dogma that nothing exists but
250. H God, a Being whose attributes are incogniz-
able, and from whom there is efflux of the universal all-Reason ; (*All-Vernunft*) and of the primal elements, time and space. Back to this attributeless Deity there is refluence from individual existences, which are the products of his emanations but weakened and dimmed by distance from their source. This return of the sparks of reason after amalgamation with matter, to the pure all-Reason which is

* Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque National. Guyard. XXII, 117*ff*.—Exposè de la Religion des Druses. De Sacy. Paris 1838.—Die Drusen und ihre Vorlaeufer. P. Wolff. Leipzig, 1845.

the first emanation of God, is facilitated by an indispensable approach from both sides, first from the all-Reason and secondly from the soul of the world (*Weltseele*). Corresponding to this gradation, first the souls of Divine Incarnations absorb the full force of the all-Reason, then those of the Prophets whom the first enlighten; and so, in descending measure, the souls of apostles and emissaries of prophets. As in men and with similar systematic gradation, these same spiritual powers dwell in celestial phenomena; first, in sunlight, secondly in rain. These indwellings of celestial bodies are further particularized and this especially by the Nuçairís.

The point which gives this doctrine its potent political influence is that these metaphysical incarnations are manifested in definite historical personages, epoch after epoch and man after man. The recognition and proclamation of such divinely-inspired men, and, above all, of the Mahdí—the last and in whose illuminated circle the living epoch falls—links the enlightened discoverer to discoverers of past times. He and he only becomes the indispensable co-adjutor in the *apokatastasis* of souls otherwise imperfectly revealed. Such co-adjutor was that 'Abdallah Qaddah who proclaimed Ismá'íl, the Imám of the 'Alís, an incarnation of the Deity and such were other discoverers of other Mahdís.

Here is the decisive point. The exponents of this theosophy adopt from Islám without reserve, the doctrine of the inseparableness of religious and political headship. What follows? In place of Muhammad's absolute subjection to a distant deity—an equally absolute subjection to a human head who, prototype and copy of Muhammad's arbitrary God, enslaves at once body and soul. Abul Qásim's theocracy might be illogical in its intolerance because it places all men, even the Prince, on an equality before God; but not so the pantheocracy of the extreme Shí'ahs, which lures men to become Gods upon earth and of which, moreover, the professors were of necessity always in arms; for their principles inculcated hatred of non-believers, as men who levelled themselves to the beasts. It was a creed welcome to such as the self-sufficiency and homely monotony of the Sunní ritual had chilled, and to moody, fantastic and passionate souls. It was guarded from aberration to polytheism by its dogma, that nothing was to be revered otherwise than as related to the basis of the universe. How could men, such as the confessors of this creed—men who placed their redeeming justification in faith and the spiritual uplifting of the heart—have been so abhorrent in manners and morality as their Sunní adversaries—who always posed as the party of order—would have it thought? The moral principles promulgated in their communes and, according to the testimony of European travellers, carried out into practice by the Ismáílites and cognate sects, such as the Jazidís, permit a different opinion.

To bring these doctrines into harmony with the Qorán and tradition, from whose historical *milieu* their advocates could not free themselves, there was developed, as in Cúfism, the wide-reaching doctrine of a double sense of the divine word; one sense, real, esoteric and penetrable only by higher insight; the other exoteric and adapted to the speech and understanding of less developed intellects. Such a system is apt to lead to results the more disingenuous and violent as the plain sense of the scriptures is crude and repellant to minds which desire higher knowledge. Nevertheless, this grading of the worth of the word was but a counterpart

of the gradation of the Kosmos. What the lowest rank of spiritual aspirants holds for perfected truth, passes on the step above for out worn: thus all conceptions of positive belief are rapidly dissipated by higher; ritual and ordinance, paradise and hell retain a subjective, but lose their objective, reality. In the human heart, therefore, body and soul are, as it were, spitted on the needle point of the all-reasoning divine Being; if thou knowest this, thou knowest thyself; so wilt thou know God and canst withdraw thyself to Him as thy centre. Such knowledge issues, not from the chill source of the intellect, but from the glow of ecstacy. To it, ascetic practices conduce: these can be learned only from a leader who is more forward on the road to God, and learned only by traversing the path prescribed by him—a path which, by the intermediacy of historical incarnations, leads, and ever has led, from the primal source—God.

To a spiritual head of degenerate souls the disunion of the Afghan tribes, opposed hindrances to politico-theological propagandism that appeared to him as much out of place as they were unwelcome. Bayazíd, therefore, set himself to render the influences of his aspiring spirit politically valid by leaguing and uniting the Nomad tribes; and during this period of exciting missionary activity, his zealous fastings and austerities, working in concert with a naturally nervous constitution, procured for him increasingly frequent revelations from on high. Exaltation that grew with the growth of his success, assured him that he was a vessel of a higher order of discernment and might than ordinary Mahdís. He became convinced of his oneness with God, sure that he was the focus of emanations of the all-fulfilling divine reason. Hence he styled himself eternal, and the light—Pir-i-Raúshán, apostle of light to the illuminati. His sacramental wine, in which dwelt the light of reason, was the slave of the light. And so on. But, underlying and overlaying all his adaptations of mysticism to personal use was a cogent current of practicality in the business of his life. Religious faith and ardour were for him radically valuable for use as a political fulcrum.

Withal, his own religious zeal, his assumptions of parity with God, seem to have been honest outcomes of a highly wrought temperament acted upon by adventitious circumstances. In his preachments Bayazíd specially affected the divine attribute of justice.

Diametrically opposing himself to the right of beggars to levy toll from the rich—a right ever recognized by and paramount amongst orientals of all races and creeds—he declared any such sitting at the receipt of custom unlawful; strictly prohibited it, and sent all beggars forth from his autocratically ordered commune with roving privateering Letters of Marque, to win subsistence for themselves and the commune, by robbery from infidels, Tájiks, and travellers generally, in and

about the Khaibar. A man of ingenious resource was Bayazíd. The people believed, were probably tutored into the belief, that an Archangel visited him, and counselled him as to the policy proper to be pursued at all times. What need had he of other angelic help than the mother wit that showed him the utilitarian uses of being hedged about with divinity, and enabled him to realize that men in the Khaibar, as elsewhere, are "mostly fools?" Killing, at all convenient opportunities, of men who were his—and the Light's—enemies, whether they happened to be Hindus, Mahomedans, or neither, was a duty strictly enjoined on his followers. The edict runs thus:—

"Whoever knows not himself, and knows not God, is not * a man; and if he is harmful, he is to be reckoned a wolf, a tiger, a serpent or a scorpion; and the Arabian prophet has said 'Kill a harmful creature before it causes harm.'" No less strictly than they were commanded to slay men and spare not, were Bayazíd's disciples forbidden to take animal life, the life of even the smallest insect torment. This forbearance because a just conception of deity demands that the 18,000 species of creatures numbered in Mahommedan cosmology should be regarded as one's own body. A peculiar debtor and creditor account-keeping, but really simple enough; as the outcomes of genius always are, they say.

This one, properly regarded, is a subtraction sum, dependent on compensations. When you take a greater figure in the lower line from a lesser one in the upper, you must "carry." If the illustration does not strike our readers as very sensible, we must be fain to regret that we have not as much sympathy with transcendentalism as Von Noer had.

Von Noer says that "Bayazíd's feeling of parity with God, welled up with the resistless overflow of his heart; Akbar's was a slow growth from the soil of inherited sovereignty and the sense of personal superiority, from courtly flattery, political calculation, and generous-hearted philanthrophy." It was inevitable that the impulsions of these two similar yet fratricidal ambitions should clash, and in time collide. When at length Bayazíd thought himself strong enough to proclaim a general religious war, and, taking time by the forelock, partitioned out beforehand, as appanages and rewards for *his* faithful, the various provinces and cities of Hindustan, he was, after some guerilla fighting, ignominiously suppressed by the Imperial troops; but not without trouble; and when he quitted this world, he left legacies of disturbance behind him. As illustrative of his oriental tact and of the subservient waxen

* *i. e.*, for the purposes of this Act.

credulities he moulded to his purpose, the following extract may be read :—

> Disregarding his orders, the Afgháns of Terâh maintained friendly relations with the Mughuls. "Báyazíd, having discovered this, "determined to inflict on them a dreadful vengeance. But as the "mountaineers were brave and courageous, he practised on them "the following stratagem: After expressing some dissatisfaction "with their conduct, he said ; 'If you would recover my favour, "'you must all of you appear before me, one by one, with your "'hands bound, in order that I may myself release you." Báyazíd "had practised so many mystical and symbolical ceremonies that "the mountaineers were induced to comply with his order. . . . . "They appeared before him, severally, with their hands bound, "and three hundred of them he caused to be put to instant death, "and laid the district so desolate, that it never returned into the "possession of the original inhabitants, but passed into the hands "of another race of mountaineers."

This timely show of hukumi yielded Bayazid rich results—brought about plentiful harvests of recruits and adherents. Before he was hounded to death, Bayazid Ançari's faith had so moved the mountains that, with its assistance, he had sowed many dragons' teeth which became armed men and thorns in the Imperial side. His rule of conduct for a religious marauding life had so commended itself to freebooting tribal instincts that, he being dead, it yet lived, and gave Akbar almost as much trouble as dreams of the Holy Sepulchre did to St. Louis, who, good god's knight that he was, told his centurions on the crusading war-path; "You are not to argue with unbelievers; thrust your spears into them," a Western world adumbration of Bayazid's: "If he be harmful he is to be reckoned a wolf, a tiger, a serpent," &c. Mr. Stanley, on his war-path in Africa the other day, was evidently of much the same mind. Filibustering war-paths, howsoever ingeniously whitewashed, are, we take it, much of a muchness, East and West, in the world, in whatever century they are embarked on People talk glibly enough of the way in which history repeats itself; but few people care to believe in their hearts that it does repeat itself. Raushani light was temporarily quenched with its Mahdi's death; but Omar, his son, contrived to kindle it anew; and he kept it more or less actively mischievous for years, until he wrecked his fortunes by embroiling himself with the Yusufzais, and so landed Akbar in a dilemma. For, although destruction of the Raushani league and covenant could not but be acceptable to him, he, on the other hand, by no means desired access of Yusufzai power, which meant a constant frontier menace. Hence the despatch in 1585, of Man Sing against the Khaibar tribes, and of Zain Khan against the Yusufzai. This Zain Khan could play several musical instruments, and composed and wrote verses; and Akbar, himself a man of versatile

accomplishments—the art of war amongst others,—fell into the mistake of supposing Zain equally able to accommodate his talents to circumstances, and gave him command of an army intended for war and not swagger. His untried capacity in military affairs was strengthened by the appointment to the command of supplementary forces of Bir Bar, a philosopher, and Abul Fath, a man of "vast attainments,"—in letters. As to Bír Bar's selection, we are told that "he had certainly exercised much influence upon the Emperor's religious speculation . . . . . there was opposed to him in the Raushanis, not only a rebel people, but the embodiment of a religious idea."

Inferentially, Van Noer is obliged to admit that in these instances Akbar's judgment was at fault. Why not say so in so many words? Why cast about for far-fetched apologies? Akbar's natural, real towerings above the other men of his time, stand in need of no sickly props of the sort. The gilding of sunspots is an artistic mistake. Is it strange that Abul Fath and Bír Bar "regarded their position and responsibility, not as soldiers, but as courtiers?" Are they blameworthy for untoward results that followed this misconception—for discomfiture, retreat, shame to the Imperial standards—or is Akbar himself? It is pleasanter to get a glimpse at the emotional phase of his disposition, interpreted by Blochmann :—"His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bír Bar He said :—Alas! They could not even get his body out of the Pass that it might be burned. At last he consoled himself with the thought that Bír Bar was now free and independent of all earthly fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient for him, there was no necessity that he should be cleansed by fire." Thus affinities with nature and human nature, with Hinduism, fire worship, gnosticism, commingled for the purposes of self condolence and consolation. A many-sided man was this Akbar. After two days of unrestrained grief came the sense of need for action, for reparation. But even so, bitter experience had not thoroughly taught its lesson to the stricken Emperor.

After showing his prudence by choosing Todar Mall to conduct the avenging campaign, he appointed Prince Murad to a nominal command. Todar Mall showed more common sense than his master. Foreseeing that a crowd of courtiers would accompany the Prince to the field, and probably pit their influence and opportunities for intrigue against his better judgment, he set his face sturdily against the appointment. It is to Akbar's credit that he yielded with a good grace to his Minister's protest.

The story of the conquest of Kashmir is well told. When the time was opportune, Abul Fazl unearthed a 900 years old

Brahman prophecy, in which Akbar's triumph was foretold. Fulfilment of it "delighted the Emperor beyond measure," as emphasizing the predictions of his own Court astrologers. Child of his century was the Great Akbar, for all his greatness and all the glamour of it. One is so apt to forget the truism, that there is a great deal of humanity in all human nature. Over and above the triumph of occultism, Akbar delighted in the natural beauties of his new found earthly paradise, and busied himself in rounding them off. From his time date the avenues of spire-like poplars and the groups of giant planes, in which Anglo-Indian sojourners at Srinagar and Islamabad rejoice to this day. Another memorial of Imperial visitations is the fort of Kóhímáram. It cost about £100,000 of our money. On a royal palace, a temporary hunting lodge, £34,000 more was expended. At that time splenetic radical cavillers at imperial expenditure on State necessities of the sort, had not been evolved out of promiscuous education with no practical outlets for its issues. When Kashmir was pacificated, and Akbar had appointed Chiefs of experience and integrity in all necessary administrative sub-centres, he set himself to gratify the populace by patronizing their fetes, and conciliating their prejudices. *e. g.* Thus we read in a contemporary chronicle :—

> On 2nd Aban a grand entertainment was given in honour of
> 14th October. the weighing of his Majesty, and the writer of this history gave alms to 14.000 supplicants.
> 21st October. On 9th Aban his Majesty proceeded by water to view the saffron fields, which in fragrance and luxuriance surpassed all the world, and in beauty of colour
> 24th October. resembled water-lilies. On 12th Mihir the Díwálí festival was solemnized—an old festival of this country at which the Hindus pray to cows. They look upon reverence shown to cows as worship. Several cows were adorned and brought before his Majesty. People are very fond of this custom. The boats, roofs and terraces on the border of the lake were ornamented with lamps, and on the same day the daughter of Shamsuddin Chak was admitted to the imperial harem, while at the same time, the daughters of Mubárak Khán and Husain Chak were—to conciliate the inhabitants—given to the prince Sultán Salím, and several other similar intermarriages were solemnized.

In 1593, the pacification of his Empire being, it was assumed, complete, and "his beneficent reforms living powers," Akbar, as crown and flower of the Kingship he had devised and brought to glorious meridian, proclaimed, in an Imperial edict, entire freedom of conscience throughout his dominions—a very brave steadfastness; regard being had to the century, the place, and the formidable environment of oppositions and prejudices.

Chapter X, treating of *The Emperor and his Court*, is specially

worth reading. Apropos of the Jesuits' Mission at Delhi, and the favour in which its members were held, Von Noer holds that undoubtedly what withheld his hero from Christianity was, on the one hand, the form in which it was presented to him, and, on the other, the fact that his conception of the Deity was inspired by Sufism. The mystery of incarnation from a virgin womb was beset with no difficulties for him. But Akbar, the king, was able to see clearly enough that Akbar and the Papacy were unfusionable incompatibilities. Submission to dogmas of priestly infallibility he would hold no parley with. The whole course of his life had impressed on him the necessity for opposition to any such wedge between him and authority.

An evil with which he had, as it was, to contend, was the antagonism between two religious contrarieties—Mahomedanism and Hinduism ;—and this evil would have been augmented and complicated by his own adoption of Roman catholicism as indoctrinated by the Jesuits : Moreover, " the remarkable doctrine of immanence which Akbar believed, as did Bayazid Ançari, led him to regard all founders of creeds as manifestors of the divine Spirit." Was not every European King of his century king by the grace of God, and, as such, gifted with supernatural powers ? How much more so, then, a king of kings in the always worshipfully inclined, subservient East ?

According to Von Noer, Akbar did not regard himself as God, or a son of God : he thought that, by mystic illumination, God revealed himself specially to him. " *At the same time he thought it serviceable* to pass for a mediator." And he called himself, to himself, God's shadow.

> Let us imagine a soul inspired by Cúffsm, theorizing about the *All* and the *Ego* : set in the midst of millions of those who credit miracles and incarnations : let us imagine such a sovereign, labouring with all energy for the political and social blending of his peoples and setting himself as the ideal of reconciliation : he might as well surrender belief in his existence as that in his mystic and divine illumination.
>
> Human, thoroughly human, as Akbar was, he would have needed to be an incarnation of Deity, if his belief in his likeness to God were not often to be intermingled with human frailty. It is, indeed, astonishing that the fine core of his character contrived to keep so sound as it did in the deadly husk of an Oriental court.

Understanding the futility and reflex action of strict teetotal prohibitions and Maine liquor laws, the Emperor once opened in Fathpore Sekri a shop where wine was to be sold for medicinal purposes, and where it was of course sold also, more or less *sub rosâ*, to make glad the heart of man. Von Noer thinks that, even in the institution of this liquor shop, the Emperor had in view a blow to Islam. He drank but little wine himself, but much Ganges water, having great faith in its occult virtues—when it

had been filtered and purified. A queer amalgam of practical common sense and Mother Shipton like love of mystic puerilities, this pre-theosophite king. His kitchen, by the way, was under supervision of no less a personage than the Prime Minister. "Admission to court," Abul Fazl wrote, "is a distinction conferred on the nation at large:" freedom of access to the royal presence was permitted to all classes.

After sunset, after the public business of the day had been all transacted, came recreation time, occupied often in listening to a reader, and in discussions on the reading of some interesting subject. At one time Abul Fazl had to read the New Testament. Many translations from Sanscrit, Hindi and Greek, were made at the Imperial command for Imperial use; and although the Emperor could not read himself, he provided a handsome library for the accommodation of his literary treasures. Badaoni, called in to assist Naqib Khan, translated two chapters of the Mahabharata; and his master, who was an appreciative, though not a schooled literary critic, took exception to the rendering, and called Badaoni—a turnip-eater. Unlike his contemporaries, His Majesty never appears to have relieved overcharged feelings by strong abusive anathemas.

The story of Akbar's first pipe of tobacco, and his physicians' solicitude at the daring experiment, is amusing. So is Abul Fazl's statement that His Majesty's old clothes fitted every one becomingly, whether he were tall or short. No wonder the fact "puzzled many." No wonder, either, that the puzzling fact was, in that credulous age, regarded as a sign of auspiciousness. In the matter of "eccentricities," we are told, the Emperor found entertainment in setting frogs to catch sparrows, in watching spiders fight, and in the efforts of flies to escape from spiders' webs. These trivialities, dependent for their humour on cruelty, were, Von Noer suggests, adopted as antidotes to the daily poison of flattery. This is a dark saying! to us it reads uncommonly like flattery on the ingenuous Count's part. Abdul Fazl is only by way of being ingenuous. Thus, by way of sample:—"Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the Imperial suite without collar or chain, and, like a sensible human being, obeyed every command, and at every leopard chase enjoyed very much to have its skill brought to the test."

Abul Fazl says that the royal Zenana gave shelter to more than 5,000 residents. In this number must be included an army of serving women, and dancers and singers. The fire temple was within Zenana precincts. Inside the harem women were the only guards. The outside of the enclosure was guarded by eunuchs, and at a proper distance,

there was a Rájpút guard, and beyond them, again, the door keepers. Akbar was not unorthodox in upkeep of harem traditions. Nevertheless :—

> Residence in Akbar's harem must have been an ideal existence for Hindústání women. Geniality prevailed; dance and song, music and hospitality, now according to Hindú custom, now according to Moslim taste. A favourite game was *chandal mandal*, which resembled chess and daughts, but had the element of chance, in that moves were determined by dice. Akbar was fond of games with cards, and his improved method of playing must have made complications thrice as difficult as those of European games.
>
> There were in his packs twelve kings, designed and coloured according to his orders, and which, to judge by Abú Fazl's description, showed far more artistic sense than the kings of European design. At any rate the history of European card-playing shows decided falling off. An ancient Hindú game called *chaupar* was also in vogue in Akbar's harem. The Emperor would almost naturally love chess, but it is not so natural that he should play it with women for pieces.
>
> Flocks of pigeons of the choicest breeds of Túrán and Irán circled above the palace There were more than 20,000, and of these some 500 were of the finest breed, (*Khāçah*) of many colours and highly pleasing to the Emperor as a skilful breeder. Tumblers were much admired. When young, Akbar took pleasure in pigeon-flying, but later, when he grew older and wiser, discontinued the amusement. He, however, returned to it in after years out of interest in the effect of breeding on colours. The beauty of form and hue of the birds were always a gratification to him. Some kinds of pigeons he kept solely for the beauty of their plumage.
>
> Beautiful things of all kinds were gathered together in the royal apartments. Akbar was fond of perfumes and from ritual motives encouraged their manufacture. His palace was redolent of ambergris, aloewood and scent made from ancient recipes or invented by himself; incense burned daily in gold or silver censers, and odorous flowers were used in great quantities. Abul Fazl names many volatile oils, the preparation of which so enriched the treasury, that their sale covered a considerable part of the royal expenses. The favour with which Akbar regarded this department of industry is therefore explained in part by economic reasons.

The Zenana garnishings are said to have afforded evidence that Timur's descendant had a pretty taste in art furniture, as well as in practical economies. Here is counterpoise :—

> "At that time, the Emperor used to retire for a long interval "after evening prayers, during which the servants and courtiers "used to disperse, assembling again when they expected his Ma-"jesty to reappear. That evening the Emperor happened to come "out" (from private devotions) "sooner than usual to hear the "news from the Dak'hin, and at first found none of his servants "in the palace. When he came near the throne and couch, he saw "a luckless lamplighter, coiled up like a snake, in a careless death-"like sleep, close to the royal couch. Enraged at the sight, he "ordered him to be thrown from the tower, and he was dashed "into a thousand pieces."

The record of the second volume of this History, setting

forth the pacification of Empire, is interleaved throughout with tale of war and carnage. On the work of pacification much stress is laid, but therewithal there is always reek of battle, murder, and carrion in the air. Fierce fight is arbitrator of pacification, now in Afghanisthan, now in Kashmir, now in Guzrat, anon in the Deccan. There is insurrection in Bengal: plots are perennial all over the Empire. Just before the curtain finally falls, the heir to the throne revolts against his father, posing before the inevitable party of reaction as restorer of its ancient pride and dignities, and a re-establisher of contumeliously treated Islam. Posing to himself as absolute ruler of the Empire, in his father's stead, in that father's lifetime—if, indeed, even so much grace was contemplated. And that father knew all. His dying hours were further embittered by the wanton murder, at his favourite son's instigation, of his most valued friend, and trusted councillor, Abul Fazl. Akbar's paternal affection was boundless. "What, in advancing years, must have been his anguish, when he saw his youngest son a drunkard; his second son dead in youth from the same vice; his eldest, his ardently desired heir, not only a drunkard, but a rebel!" This King, so great, so puissant, had declared himself one with God. And thus did his children inherit the divine spirit! Apotheosis cannot hinder inexorable fate, shaping itself as death. Bitter as Dead Sea fruit in the mouth must have been his messenger's summons to the moribund Akbar. A doleful, mocking echo to all his lifetime's strenuous toil and endeavour—Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas. Better were it, at such a supreme moment, to be the unwittingly moribund gladiator, and with high hope and exaltation of coming achievement to shout, *Ave Cæsar! Morituri te salutant.*

## ART. VII—MORFILL'S RUSSIA.

*Russia.* By W. R. Morfill, M.A. (Reader in the Russian and Sclavonic Languages in the University of Oxford). Author of "Slavonic Literature:" "A simplified Grammar of the Serbian Language:" "A Grammar of the Russian Language," &c. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890.

IN this latest addition to the "Story of the Nations Series," Mr. Morfill has presented us with an able and lucid compendium of the history of the mighty and still growing nation, whose onward career of conquest has, for the past thirty years, excited so much interest, and even apprehension, in the minds of the friends and well-wishers of India. Russia has, in these days, succeeded to the *rôle* of France as the chief political rival of England, and the commercial and colonial competition with us, which the latter Power entered into, over almost the whole surface of the habitable world, in the last century, has now been succeeded by a similar competition with Russia carried on in Eastern Europe and in Western and Central Asia. France fought with us for the Empire of India: our victory over her has now brought us within prospect of a conflict with Russia.

This rivalry has had the natural effect of making Englishmen unfair judges of the character and motives of the Russians. Their hostility hurries them into prejudiced criticism; and the natural reaction against unfounded prejudice drives their political opponents into equally unmerited eulogy. The aims and destinies of Russian policy have been made a stalking-horse for both of the great English political parties, and Russia has been alternately the Divine Figure from the North, or the all-devouring Octopus remorselessly swallowing and digesting its weaker neighbours. To some Russia is a gigantic wind-bag, whose power would collapse at the first prick of an English bayonet; to others she is the coming Power of the future, a mighty nation hardly yet roused to the true knowledge of her own strength, going forth conquering and to conquer. Mr. Morfill has eschewed contemporary politics: he holds the balance between contending opinions with an impartial hand, though his intimate knowledge of the Russians and of the other Sclavonic peoples, evidently influences him to incline it in their favour. He has

avoided also political forecast; though he has indicated to others the materials for forming one by the clear light which he has shed upon the path of Russia's past history.

The opening chapter of his book deals with the geographical and ethnological distribution of the Russian race and language.

"Scratch a Russian," says the French proverb, "and underneath you will find a Tartar:" but the truth of the observation is no more than skin-deep. The Sclavonic race, of which the Russian is only one family, is Caucasian and Aryan, and has no Mongolian blood in its veins. It is true that Russia was under the dominion of the Tatars for two centuries; but there was little, we might almost say, no intermarriage between the diverse races. A few of the Russian Boyars contracted alliances with the daughters of Tatar Mirzas, out of complacency to their conquerors: and Boris Godunoff, who was elected Czar on the failure of heirs to the reigning family, in A. D. 1598, is said to have been of Tatar descent. Thus the Russian nobility is the only class of the population which has inherited a strain of Mongolian blood. On the other hand, Russian women were taken as wives and concubines in numbers by the victorious Tatars, but their children grew up as Tatars and never returned to the Russian nation. Whatever intermixture of blood there was, was therefore all on the Tatar side.

The Russians were originally divided into several nations, speaking distinct dialects. The Great Russians dwelt in the districts which now form the centre of European Russia, in which are the three old capitals of Moscow, Novgorod, and Kieff. They number at the present day forty-two millions, including three millions who have emigrated and settled in Siberia. Their language has become the accepted official and literary dialect of the whole Russian race, just as English has become the recognised dialect of the whole Anglo-Saxon race in the United Kingdom, whether Scotch or English. The Southern provinces are inhabited by seventeen millions of Little, or Malo-Russians. They also dwell in some of the provinces of Poland which were taken by Austria in the successive partitions of that country; in the Bukovina, for instance, and in Galicia, which was formerly called "Red Russia."

The white Russians, numbering more than four millions, dwell in the western provinces; a poor population, living on a barren soil. They were long subject to the Poles, who oppressed and illtreated them on account of their race and religion. Of the Poles themselves there are nearly six millions in the Russian Empire, Sclaves by race, but Catholics by

religion. In many of the western provinces, in which the cultivators and the bulk of the population are Letts or Russians, the gentry and the landed proprietors are still Poles, as they were in the days of the kingdom of Poland. In the Baltic provinces and Lithuania are the Letts, who are by degrees being absorbed into the Russian nation through the intermixture of the population. There are two millions of inhabitants of various nationalities in the Governments of the Caucasus, who, though of Caucasian breed, do not belong to the Aryan race. The principal of these are the Georgians, Circassians (Cherkess). Mingrelians, Lesghians, Abkhasians, and Lázis, the last, till recently, subjects of the Sultan.

The Finns belong to the races known as Ural-Altaic: there are some two millions of them, and four millions of Tartars, Kirghiz, Baskhirs and others of Mongolian race. The Semitic race is represented in Russia by three millions of Jews, who have acquired a disproportionately large share of the internal trade of the whole country, and consequently of its wealth: for the Russians, like all the Sclavonic nations, are purely an agricultural people, and do not take kindly to commerce. The Jew in Russia fulfils a similar function, and occupies a corresponding position towards the peasantry, to that which the Marwari money-lender in India does to the ryots.

The total population of Russia in Europe and Asia together is estimated at more than a hundred millions, of whom eighty millions are of Russian nationality. Among the latter, we include the Cossacks, for though they are of mixed race, being recruited partly from Poles and Tatars, yet the majority of them were originally Russian, and the Russian strain of blood greatly predominates in them.

The origin of the Russian nations seems to have sprung from the conquest of the Sclave tribes inhabiting Novgorod and the adjacent territory by a band of Scandinavian sea rovers in the ninth century of our era: an event analogous to the conquest of England by the Normans two centuries later. The oldest Russian chronicles extant represent Rurik and his companions as coming to Novgorod in response to the invitation of the inhabitants. The legend of the invitation, being, in Mr. Morfill's opinion, "only a way of concealing an invasion, as in the case of Hengist and Horsa among ourselves." Askold and Dir, companions of Rurik, set out and conquered the city of Kiev, on the Dneiper, "the origin of which, like that of Novgorod, is buried in mystery." Through the Dnieper they reached the Black Sea, and, true to their Viking instincts and traditions, cruised against the Romans of the Eastern Empire, and even had the hardihood to attack Constantinople. The oldest

Russian chronicler, Nestor, has preserved the text of two treaties made by the Byzantine Emperor with the Russian Oleg (Helgi), the successor of Rurik, and the names of many of the chiefs mentioned in them are Scadinavian, and not Sclavonic at all. The name Russian is first used about this time, and is supposed to have belonged originally to Rurik and his Norsemen. "The most probable derivation of this word" says Mr. Morfill, "is from the Finnish Ruotsi, which is the name given by the Finns to the Swedes, and appears itself to be a corruption of the first syllable of some such word as *rothsmenn* or *rothskarlar* (rovers or sea-farers.)"

The Arabic geographer, Al Masudi, who wrote in the tenth century of our era, locates the Rús and the Sakáliba (Sclavonians, plural of Arabic' *Sakláb,* for Sclave) as living in the basin of the Dnieper, and he describes the piratical raids which they made upon the Moslem nations who dwelt on the southern shores of the Caspian, coming upon them by the way of the Volga. He describes the Rús as a Magian, *i.e.*, a Pagan nation; and surmises that they may be identical with the strange and savage Magian pirates who had lately appeared on the coasts of El Andalús (Spain, then under the Arabs), coming from no man knew where. These latter were really the Normans. The Russians thus became early known to the Arabs, or Saracens, and the Persian poet Nizámi, who flourished in the thirteenth century, has introduced them into his epic poem, the "Sikandar Náma," as one of the nations brought under subjection by Alexander the Great, who subdued them after a seven days' battle. The Russians are far better known to their Oriental neighbours through the mythical accounts of them in this popular poem, than through any incidents of their real history. In the literature of the Ottoman Turks they are generally called "Maskub," as the European nations in the middle ages styled them Muscovite, from the name of their capital. "The old name of the country," says our author, "is Rus, the form Russia not having arisen earlier than the close of the Seventeenth Century, when it was artificially framed on the analogy of such classical names as Grecia, &c."

The successor of Oleg was Igor (supposed to be the Norse Ingoar), but the name of his son, the fourth king of the Russians, is Sviatoslav, a purely Sclavonic name. "The Norse invaders are therefore now beginning to be lost in their Slavonic subjects, just as the Normans and Saxons began to be fused in the reign of Henry the Second."

Vladimir, the son of Sviatoslav, was the first Christian king of Russia. In A. D. 988, he went to Constantinople to be baptized, and on his return ordered the whole of his subjects to follow him in changing their religion; which they seem to

have done willingly and unanimously. The dethroned idols were dragged through the streets of Kiev, and then thrown into the Dnieper.

Mr. Morfill attaches no credence to the story that Vladimir, when desirous of adopting a new religion, despatched envoys to examine into the doctrines and tenets of the Musalmans and Jews, and of the Greek and Catholic Christians.

It has been believed that the gorgeous ritual and solemn music of Saint Sophia captivated the senses of the Russian barbarians, and fixed them in the faith to which they have since clung so closely, through good and evil report, with a tenacity which contrasts strongly with their loose attachment to their old heathen form of religion. But their choice of a faith may be easily and naturally explained by their political relations with the Eastern Romam Empire, the only civilized and Christian Power with which they had any close intercourse. There could have been but little danger of the Aryan Russian ever adopting a monotheistic faith, like that of the Semitic Jew, or Arab.

Vladimir divided his dominions among his sons, and we find the same pernicious system followed by his descendants, so that from the time of his death till the invasion of the Moguls, a century later, the Russian nation was divided among several petty principalities; while the commercial cities of Novgorod, Pskov, and Viatka formed republics on the model of the German Hanse towns, with which they were in close alliance. These States formed a loose kind of confederation, but were frequently at war with each other. Kiev, the old capital, still held the foremost place; and one of its princes, Vladimir Monomachus, married Gytha, the daughter of Harold, the Saxon King of England, killed by the Normans at the battle of Hastings: the only instance of a matrimonial alliance between the reigning families of England and Russia until a son of Queen Victoria married a daughter of the Czar, Alexander the Second, in our own day.

Yaroslav, the son of Vladimir, was the first Russian law giver: he compiled a code still extant. "One of the great features of this early code is that we see in it the Russians wholly unaffected by those Mongolian corruptions which afterwards vitiated them. Russia at that time was a purely European country, and on a level with the other European nations."

In the beginning of the Thirteenth Century came the overwhelming deluge of the Mogul hordes under Changhiz Khán, issuing from a remote corner of Asia, and overflowing the whole of that Continent and all Eastern Europe in an irresistible torrent.

It was the last of those human inundations flowing from

the unknown regions of the North and East, which, for a thousand years, successively, and periodically submerged the civilized world; Goths, Huns, Alans, Khazars, Turks, and finally Mogul Tatars: recurring streams of conquest and devastation which probably prompted much of the imagery of the Book of Revelation. The terrified Christian monks turned the national appellation of the heathen Tatars into "Tartari," inhabitants of the infernal regions of Tartarus, and this misnomer has become firmly established in all the European languages. In A. D. 1224 the Moguls first appeared on the borders of Russia, and their swarming myriads of horsemen defeated the Russians in a great battle, but they did not at that time penetrate far into the country. In the year 1238, however, they reappeared under the leadership of Bátée Khàn, the grandson of the great Changhiz, and their mighty host moved like a swarm of locusts across Russia and Poland, straight into the heart of Europe, and destroyed the confederated armies of the Christians on the field of Liegnitz, in Silesia, where the victorious Moguls filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain foemen. This was, however, the extreme limit of their progress: the desperate resistance which they had experienced from the mail-clad knights of the Teutonic Order, and the chivalry of Poland and Hungary; or the sight of the strong fenced cities of Germany, which they were unable to force or to besiege; or the exhaustion of the energy which had impelled them so far from their native steppes, now rolled back the wave of conquest from the devastated lands again to the shores of the Volga. Here the Moguls established the head-quarters camp of their Urdu or Horde; and the Tabernacle, or Saràì, of their Khán became the central point of a temporary city, or rather a standing camp.

The father of English poetry, Chaucer, writing in A. D. 1400 says—

"At Sara in the londe of Tartarie
There dwelled a King who werreyed Russie."

The country of Russia lay open to the invaders: the towns were unfortified; and the wide and level plains were exactly the kind of ground most favorable to the operations of the Tatar cavalry. All the towns were burned and the country ravished, except the principality of Novgorod, which escaped because it was to the north of the line of march of the invading host. The Moguls remained encamped in the country, but made no attempt to interfere with the internal Government or the religion of the people, contenting themselves with exacting homage and tribute from the princes, and levying a poll-tax on the people. The Moguls were pagans

when they conquered Russia: they did not embrace Islam until 1272, when they followed the example of their brethren settled in Persia.

The Russians remained subject to the Tatar yoke for two hundred years. The Russian princes were obliged to follow the Mogul Khan to his wars, to hold his stirrup when he mounted, and to lick up any drops which fell from his cup as he drank. Many of the outward forms of society became orientalised; and the Russians adopted long-skirted garments, shut up their women from the public gaze, and paid respect to their superiors by the Chinese *kotow*, or prostration, knocking their foreheads on the floor. All these customs kept their ground after the Moguls had lost their hold on the country, just as we see in India the Musalman system of *gosha* and *purdah* seclusion, adopted under the Muhammadan rule, retained by the Hindus after their emancipation, and even cherished by them as a desirable custom.

Peter the Great finally abolished these relics of Oriental servitude, not without great opposition from the Russians themselves.

The conversion of the Tatars to Islam brought the Russians into active hostility to that faith, and inaugurated the long series of wars which they were destined to wage against its professors and defenders, wars in which religious fanaticism on both sides powerfully supplemented national animosity. "We must thoroughly realise," says our author, "this death struggle between Christianity and Islam, if we wish to understand the position of Russia in the East. From it she has gained her great influence, for it has always been but too patent, that the Christian powers of the West would calmly stand by and see the Eastern Christians persecuted into the faith of Islam."

The treatment of the Hellenic and Sclavonic Christians of the Greek Church by the Pope and the Catholic powers of Europe was one of the most powerful aids to the Musalman propaganda.

The wretched travesty of Christianity which ruled Christendom in the Middle Ages cared for nothing but the temporal triumph of its own miserable sect. It succeeded in sending the Bosniacks in a body into the arms of Islam; it effectually prevented Austria from reaping any benefit from her triumphs over the Turks: and it has left a legacy of hatred between her and her Sclave subjects of which the bitter fruits have yet to be reaped.

While the Russians were still crushed under the weight of the Mogul domination, they lost their Eastern provinces to the Poles, and to the German military orders of the Teutonic

knights and sword-bearing knights, whose corporations dated from the times of the attempts of armed Europe to re-possess the Holy Sepulchre, and who now carried on a fresh crusade against the heathen of Prussia and Lithuania. The latter province was disputed between them and Poland, and finally became an appanage of the latter country. Kalick, or Galicia, some times called Red Russia, was likewise annexed by Poland, and sacred Kiev also.

A transient gleam of success in these gloomy times was the victory gained by Alexander, Prince of Novgorod, over the Swedes, on the river Neva, from which the canonised hero has taken, in Russian history, the name of St. Alexander Nevski.

We find his son, Daniel, ruling at Moscow under the suzerainty of the Tatars, and from this time forth Moscow becomes the capital, and from it the country and people come to be known in Europe as Muscovy and Muscovites.

After Daniel came Ivan the First, then Simeon, then Ivan the Second, whose son Demetrius won a splendid victory, in the year 1380, over the Moguls under Mamài Khán, at Kulikovo Pólé or "the field of woodcocks." Two years later, this defeat was avenged by Toktamish Khán (the same who was afterwards beaten by Timur), who came and levelled Moscow with the ground. But the power of the Tatars had been gradually disintegrating ever since their nomad hordes had settled in a fixed habitation; and in the fifteenth century the great Kizil Urdu (Golden Horde) had split up into the three separate Khanates of Kazan, Astrachan, and the Crimea. Mr. Morfill says the original name of Astrachan appears to have been Adja-Tarkhàn, or Astrokan. It figures in Persian literature as Hàji-Tarkhán, and is so called in the diary of Sháh Nasr ud Din Shah Kajar, the present reigning Sovereign of Persia. The Khanate of the Crimea is called Karim قريم by Musalman historians. Soon afterwards we find the Russian Grand Dukes of Muscovy, after frequent fighting with varied fortune, freeing themselves from the Tatar tribute altogether, and successfully defending their frontiers against the continual incursions of their still active enemies.

The Grand Duke, Ivan the Third, who succeeded his father Basil, or Vasili, in A. D. 1462, may be looked on as the real founder of the Russian monarchy and the first autocrat of all the Russians. When the Khan of the Tatars sent to him requiring the usual act of homage, he returned an insulting refusal. He conquered and consolidated all the various Russian principalities and republics into one State. He crushed the liberties of the free city of Novgorod, and in

consequence, its commerce, which had rivalled that of Hamburg and Lubeck, was entirely ruined; the German and other foreign merchants abandoned the town; and the city, of which the Russians had been accustomed to say "Who can resist God and Novgorod?" sank into insignificance. Ivan married a daughter of the Imperial family of the Palaeologi, who had just been expelled from Constantinople by the Turks, and he took to himself the cognizance of the double-headed eagle of the Roman Empire and the title of Czar, which is simply a Sclavonic corruption of Cæsar, or Kaisar. He re-opened communications with Germany and other European powers.

He and his successors were engaged in almost continuous wars against the Moguls on the east, and against the Polish Kings and the Teutonic knights on the west: and from his era, or even from some time before it, dates the steady growth of the Russian nation—an Empire which has continued to our own day, and as yet gives no sign of cessation. He was succeeded by his son Basil, and he again by his son Ivan the Fourth, surnamed the Terrible, who reigned fifty years: a wise and crafty ruler, but cruel, treacherous, and superstitious.

His character and policy are compared by Mr. Morfill to those of Louis the Eleventh of France: but the savage cruelties and wholesale butcheries of Ivan are more characteristic of an Asiatic than of a European despotism.

Under him Russia proceeded on her path of conquest. Soon after his succession, he attacked Kazan and captured it, destroying the Tatar Khanate, and annexing the city to his own dominions. Batyz (Bahadur) Torah, the son of the Khan of the Crimea, coming with an army to the relief of the beleaguered city, was attacked and defeated by the Russians, and his army driven into the neighbouring marshes, where he and many of his men were miserably drowned.

Ivan proceeded onwards to the attack of Astrachan, and two years later conquered and annexed that Khanate also, and extended the Russian frontiers to the Caspian. The Turks, who were at that time engaged in constructing a canal, intended to connect the Black Sea with the Caspian, were attacked and routed by the Russians and driven back to the shores of the Black Sea. This was the first occasion on which the Ottoman arms encountered the enemy that was to prove so fatal to them.

But in the year 1571 the Tatars of the Crimea invaded Russia with a great host, ravaged the country, and burnt Moscow, Ivan not venturing to withstand them in the field, but carefully keeping out of their way.

"The Mosco is burnt every sticke by the Crimme" reports Hakluyt "on the 24th day of May last, and an innumerable number of people." Sir Jerome Horsey, English Ambassador at the Court of Ivan, has given a full account of this raid in his curious diary. The Tatar army was computed at two hundred thousand men. The "Emperour of the Crimes and his armye," says Horsey, "beheld this goodly fier, lodged and solaced himself in a fare monnesterie by the river sied, fower miells of the cittie, called Symon monnesterie: took the waelth and riches they had, and of all such as fledd from the fier."

Moscow was rebuilt and fortified, and when, twenty years later, the Khan of the Crimea and his army once more returned, the city was successfully defended against them, and they were repulsed from its walls.

During the reign of Ivan, the English reopened communications with Muscovy by the port of Archangel on the White Sea. They first came thither in the course of an attempt to find a north east passage to India. Sir Hugh Willoughby and his crews were frozen to death in the Arctic Ocean, but Richard Chancellor, with his ship, reached Archangel, and was warmly welcomed by Ivan, who was most anxious to find some medium of communication with Western Europe other than through Catholic Poland. Embassies and gifts were exchanged between the Czar and Queen Elizabeth of England: and much curious and interesting information respecting Russia in those early times is to be derived from the accounts of the English Ambassadors, Giles Fletcher and Sir Jerome Horsey at the Court of Ivan the Terrible. The book published by the former in 1591, "of the Russe Commonwealth," was suppressed by order of Queen Elizabeth, from fear that the freedom of its strictures on the way things were managed in Russia might be displeasing to her friend the Czar. The Russians sought eagerly for the manufactures of civilized Europe, which they obtained mostly from English traders by way of Archangel, and now adventurers and soldiers of fortune began to throng to Muscovy, where their superior knowledge and talents ensured their advancement in the Russian service. Ivan the Terrible was anxious to secure an English lady as his eighth wife, but none of the requisite rank could be found bold enough to run the risk of sharing the fate of her predecessors. The atrocities perpetrated by this tyrant equal any recorded of Timur, or of Nadir Shah. He killed his own son and heir by a blow from an iron-shod staff. In spite of the horror and disgust excited by his cruelties, the nobles and people being, as Horsey says, "wearied and tired by the divelish tiranicall practices, horrable influencis and wicked devices of this Helligabelous," Ivan died a natural death

struck down suddenly by a fit of apoplexy: the manner of his death is thus related by Horsey:—

"Brought forth, setts him down upon his bed; calls Rodovone Baerken, a gentilman whom he favoured, to bring the chess board. He setts his men (Horsey, always on the look out for portents, here adds in a note:—'All savinge the Kinge, which by no means he could not make stand in his place with the rest upon the plain board') his chieff favorett, and Boris Fœdorowich Goddonove and others about him. The Emperor in his lose gown, shirtt and lynnen hose, faints and falls backwards. Great owtcrie and sturr: one sent for Aqua vita, another to the oppatheke (apothecary) for marigold and rose water, and to call his gostlie father and the phizicions. In the mean he was strangled and stark dead."

He left two sons Feodore and Dimitry, or Demetriûs. The elder succeeded him as Czar, the younger was an infant in arms. Feodore was of weak intellect, and was married to the sister of a powerful nobleman named Boris Godunov, who became virtually the Regent of the State. As Feodore was childless, the boy Dimitri was the only obstacle which stood between Boris and the throne, at which his ambition already aimed. One day the royal boy was found stabbed and dead. He had been out under the charge of his governess and some attendants, whose attention was called off for a minute: they had left him playing with a knife, and when they turned to him again, he was stabbed dead and covered with blood. Boris Godunov gave out that the child had killed himself by accident, but his story was not believed, and there were violent popular commotions and tumults directed against him. He weathered the storm, however, and imposed on the people by affected piety. "Horsey" says Mr. Morfill, has given us a very graphic account, fresh as one of the pages of Pepys, of the way in which he first received intelligence of the child's death:

"One night I comended my soull to God above other, thinckynge verrilly the tyme of my end was com. One rapt at my gate at midnight: I was well furnished with pistools and weapons, I and my servants, some fifteen, went with these weapons to the gate.

'O my good friend Jerom innobled lett me speak with you.

I saw by moonshine the Emperis brother Alphonassy Nagorie. The Charowich Demeterius is dead his throate was cutt about the sixth hower by the deackes, some one of his pagis confessed upon the racke by Boris his settinge one; and the Emperis poysoned and upon poynte of death, her hear and nails and skin falls of; haelp and geave some good thinge for the passion of Christ his sake.

I ran up, fetched a littell bottele of pure sallett oyell (that littel vial of balsom, which the Queen gave me) and a box of Venice treacle, here is what I have, I praie God it may do her good!' Gave it over the wall: who hied him post awaie."

So far, our Englishman in his racy but ungrammatical language. His narrative shews what a reputation his countrymen enjoyed in Russia for medical skill."

In the year 1598 the imbecile Czar Feodore died, and the long line of the Grand Dukes of Moscow perished with him. The form of a popular election, like the French *plebiscite* in our time, confirmed Boris Godunov on the throne on which he was already firmly seated. He proved a just and politic monarch, and, in spite of his Tatar ancestry, gave proof of a desire to introduce Western civilization into Russia and had many foreigners in his employment. His dynasty perished with him, however; and we now come to the period of anarchy called by Russian historians "the Time of the Troubles."

It commenced with the appearance of the Russian Perkin Warbeck, a young man claiming to be the murdered Czarewitch Demetrius. He was a page in the household of a Polish nobleman, and first confided his story to his master, saying that his life had been saved by a physician employed by Boris to murder him, and who had substituted for him some obscure victim. The Poles eagerly adopted the cause of the adventurer: the King Sigismund the Third supported and aided him, and he married the daughter of a Polish Palatine. Some believe the whole plot was got up by the Jesuits, who were always eagerly scheming to annex Russia to the Holy See: they, at all events, engaged warmly in it, and their propaganda proved the eventual cause of its failure. Such was the affection of the Russians for their old royal family, that, when the false Demetrius invaded Russia, numbers of the people joined his standard, in spite of his Catholic wife and his Polish allies. Several battles with varying success were fought between his army and that of Boris, when the latter died suddenly, just after a banquet, probably poisoned by some one about him in the interests of the false Demetrius. The whole nation at once went over to the pretenders, the people of Moscow murdered Boris' widow and son, and Demetrius entered the capital in triumph and was proclained Czar. His mother, the "Emperis" who had been so nearly "poysoned," recognised him as her son: one of the inexplicable incidents of this strange story. But his alliance with the Poles and his partiality for the Catholic religion soon disgusted the Russians, who hated the Pope with a holy horror not to be surpassed by English Puritans or Dutch Calvinists. Before the pretender

had reigned two years, the idea had generally gained ground that he was really an impostor: an insurrection broke out, and the false Demetrius was murdered in his palace by the insurgents. The Poles took arms to avenge his death, and their King Sigismund attempted to make his own son Czar of Russia. Another false Demetrius appeared, and, to complete the mystification, was recognised as her husband by Mariana, the widowed Polish Czarina of the first impostor. The country for some years was a scene of the wildest confusion; Poles, Cossacks, patriots, and pretenders all fighting desperately, each for their own hand, while the Jesuits sedulously fomented the troubles, the Swedes invaded the northern, and the Tartars raided on the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom. The Poles plundered the treasury and spoiled the churches and monasteries, and carried off so much booty in jewellery, that a contemporary historian says that the Polish horsemen loaded their pistols with pearls!

At length the Russian Boyars and chief priests assembled and determined to elect a new Czar to put an end to the anarchy which was ruining the nation. Their choice fell on a youth of sixteen, Michael Romanoff, the head of one of the most influential families of the Russian nobility. A daughter of this house had been one of the many wives of Ivan the Terrible. Under him the nation rallied, and began to make head against its numerous enemies: all classes loyally supported him. Peace with Sweden was purchased by a cession of territory, completely shutting out Russia from the Baltic.

"That, we will hope, by God's help, will always prove too wide a jump, even for a Russian," observed the Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus, with satisfaction, as he signed the peace of Stolbovo. In less than a hundred years more Russia had conquered and annexed all the Swedish provinces lying between her and the Baltic.

By the exertions of Michael and his Generals, the Poles were at last driven out of the country; Sigismund the Third was dead, and his successor, tired of the war, at last agreed to renounce his pretensions, and made peace, recognising Michael as Czar.

The distracted country now gained the rest which it so sorely needed, and Michael was able to establish firmly the dynasty which has lasted to the present day. English and Scotch adventurers, Hamiltons, Gordons, Leslies, and Crawfords now swarmed into Russia, driven thither by the religious Civil Wars in England and Scotland which exiled the partisans of the losing cause from their native country. Tom Dalziel, the persecutor who defeated the covenanting rebels on the Pentland Hills, was a General under the Czar; and the long beard which

he wore, after the Russian fashion, after his return to England, especially excited the wonder of the smooth shaven courtiers of Charles the Second.

At this time the Kazaks, or Cossacks, begin to play an important part on the stage of Russian history. The debateable land between Islam and Christendom, always subject to the devastating raids and slave hunts of the Turks and Tatars, was a kind of Alsatia in which no writ ran, subject to no settled form of government, like the Border marches between England and Scotland, to compare small things with great. Here settled outlaws of many races; Russians, Poles, Roumans and Tatars, mostly fugitives from justice or injustice, and formal organized bands of plunderers called Kazaks (robbers) by the Turks. Among these Kazaks the Malo-Russian element predominated, and in process of time absorbed or assimilated the others, and hence we find these isolated communities of moss-troopers, always struggling to maintain their independence in the midst of the powerful nations surrounding them, eventually gravitating to Russia, attracted by the ties of kindred, blood and a common faith.

In the reign of Ivan the Terrible we see the Cossacks of the Don acknowledging his suzerainty and craving his aid against the Turks. In the reign of Michael Romanoff, they seized the town of Azoph and offered it to the Czar, but he declined to provoke a rupture with the Turks, and the Sultan sent an expedition which recovered it, and expelled the Cossacks.

The Cossacks on the Dnieper, called also the Zaporavian Cossacks, had long been under the supremacy of Poland, and had been organized by the Poles into regiments of a thousand strong, and charged with the defence of the frontiers against Turkish and Tatar marauders. They were ruled by their own "Hetman," a title probably a corruption of the German Hauptmann, or Captain, and further corrupted by the Russians into "Ataman."

Difference of race and religion combined to estrange the Cossack vassals from their Polish lords; the aristocratic pride of the latter at last provoked the Hetman Bogdan Kmelnitski to revolt; and as he and his Kazaks found the Poles too strong for them to withstand, they sought the protection of the Turks, and became vassals of the Ottoman Empire.

They soon found that they had exchanged the frying pan for the fire, and again transferred their allegiance, this time to Holy Russia. The Turks were unwilling to let them go, and, in order to retain them, declared war against the Czar, and the Grand Vazir Kara Mustafa (Black Mustafa) marched an army into the Ukraine, and invaded the southern provinces of

Russia. But his march, delayed by his Janissary infantry and his train of artillery, proved tedious; the enemy steadily retired before him; and despairing of overtaking or reaching such a remote and retreating adversary, he made peace on terms which allowed him to withdraw with honour from an enterprise which promised neither profit nor glory. The Cossacks remained under the suzerainty of Russia; though their experiences of the Poles and Turks seem to have made them impatient of any masters, for we find them soon again revolting against the Czar, Peter the Great, under the leadership of their Hetman Mazeppa, and assisting the Swedes under Charles the Twelfth in their invasion of Russia. Their revolt was quelled after the defeat of the Swedes at Pultowa, and they have ever since remained the obedient subjects and useful soldiers of the Russian Czar. The Russians had some difficulty in restraining them from the good old custom of cutting off the heads of their fallen enemies, which they used to practise when allies of the Porte. During the wars of the Eighteenth Century, when light cavalry was but little used in European warfare, the Cossacks performed invaluable services as eclaireurs and foragers to the Russian armies.

In the reign of Alexis, the son of Michael, took place the Cossack rebellion of the outlaw Stenka Razin, who for some years became almost an independent sovereign in the country along the banks of the Volga. In the traditions and ballads of the peasantry, this malefactor is elevated into a kind of popular hero, a sort of Russian Robin Hood. This rebellion was probably caused, partially at least, by the revision of the Russian prayer books in this reign, by order of the Patriarch Nicon. These books had become full of clerical errors, caused by the blunders of ignorant copyists, and Nicon had them revised and corrected to correspond with the original Greek ritual.

This necessary reform, however, met with the most violent opposition from the simple people who regarded their church books, blunders and all, with superstitious reverence: and unfortunately the despotic Czar and the domineering clergy persecuted all who dissented from their own views of the necessity for reform, with ferocious cruelty; which, as usual bred more opposition, and thus was formed the large sect of the Raskolniks, or Russian Dissenters, who have been increased and nourished by savage persecutions in Russia for more than two hundred years.

The Czar Alexis was succeeded by his eldest son Feodore; and on his death, after a short reign, by his second son Ivan, but as this Prince was of weak intellect, his youngest brother Peter was associated with him in the Government. Ivan died in

1696, and Peter became sole ruler at the early age of seventeen. The History of Russia, as a civilized European power, commences with the reign of this remarkable man, truly called the Great.

Hitherto the Grand Dukes and Czars of Muscovy had been Oriental Sultans ruling over a Semi-Orientalized nation. The superstition which imposed on the national mind was in form Aryan and Christian, not Semitic and Musalman: otherwise there was little to choose between the method of Government in Russia and in Turkey. The caprice of the Monarch, and the prejudices of the clergy directed the affairs of State in both countries: and the Russian national militia, called Strelitz, affords a curious parallel to the Turkish Janissaries. Pictures of the Strelitz in Mr. Morfill's book, with high caps and long-skirted coats, carrying matchlocks and pole-axes, might be taken for the guards of the Seraglio on the Golden Horn. The cruel and capricious punishments inflicted by the Czars were thoroughly Oriental in character; such as impaling, mutilating, exiling the bells of Churches to Siberia, and the like. The stick was the universal argument in Russia, as it is to this day in Persia. The whole Russian nation was steeped in Oriental ignorance and apathy. Peter woke it up, and brought it into line with the civilized nations of Europe. Of course it lagged behind them at first, but it is still making head way. By his absolute ukase he abolished long skirts and flowing beards He created a navy. He raised an army of cavalry, artillery and infantry, equipped, drilled, and disciplined on the European model. He abolished the custom of secluding women, by obliging his nobles to give entertainments at which their ladies were forced to appear. He compelled every member of the idle and wealthy aristocracy to serve the State either in a civil or a military capacity. In order to teach his own ignorant subjects, he himself learnt the trades of a carpenter, a blacksmith, a soldier, and a sailor. His strong common sense led him to choose the right path in every dilemma: his marvellous energy, both of mind and body, triumphed over every obstacle. He found Russia a weak and struggling State, plundered by Turks and Tatárs; bullied by Swedes and Poles: he left her one of the great Powers of Europe. The pen and the genius of Voltaire were necessary to do justice to his history.

The heroic folly of his rival, Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, gave Peter a chance which he was not the man to throw away. At the outbreak of the war between them, eight thousand Swedes defeated a hundred-thousand Russians at the battle of Narva with more ease than the English defeated the Marhattas at Assaye, or the Sikhs at Sobraon. At the end

of the war Russians met Swedes on equal terms, and their numbers turned the balance completely in their favour. Sweden lost all her provinces on the eastern Baltic coast, and St. Petersburgh rose on what had been Swedish soil as the new capital of the enlarged Empire. Báku was occupied on the Caspian; and Azoph at the mouth of the Don: but Peter was obliged to yield up the latter conquest again to the Turks, as the price of his release, when he found himself surrounded by their armies on the steppes of Moldavia.

He commenced the persistent policy of aggression upon the Ottoman Empire which has been faithfully carried out by his successors: but he underrated the strength of the religious fanaticism and military instincts of the Turks, and in the last war which he waged against them, he and his whole army were only saved from destruction by the stupidity and venality of the Turkish leaders. Even when his own error of judgment and unwonted rashness had led Peter into imminent peril, fortune did not desert her favourite, but rescued him at the last.

In his moral character, Peter was no hero. The judicial murder of his son and heir, the Czarewitch Alexis, will always be a blot upon his character: but it must be remembered that the son was a stupid bigot, whose hope and boast was to undo all the civilising work of his father as soon as he might ascend the throne.

"This foolish and vicious young man," says Mr. Morfill, "without a generous impulse and without filial or conjugal affection, was sullenly relying upon time to put it in his power to reduce to a cypher the labours of the great master-worker." In 1721 Peter issued a ukase decreeing that the Czar should always nominate his own successor. He died in 1725, his vigorous constitution worn out at the age of fifty-three by his vast labours and free living.

"It is difficult," says our author, "to estimate accurately his Titanic character. He was a strange mixture of virtues and vices." Peter was succeeded by his widow Catherine, originally a peasant girl, then wife to a Swedish Dragoon, a captive of war, and a slave to the Russian Prince Menshikoff; and by him presented to the Czar, whose notice she attracted when waiting at table. Her former master became her prime favourite and Prime Minister. She was the first female sovereign that ever reigned over Russia, to be followed at short intervals by the Empresses Anne, Elizabeth and Catherine the Second. The system of succession sanctioned by Peter led to great irregularities in the succession, and it appears as if the succession of women was favoured by the chief Ministers and Nobles as a means of keeping the reins of power in their own

hands. Catherine nominated, as her own successor, Peter the Second, the son of Alexis and grandson of Peter the Great, and, on his early death without issue, the State Councillors, ignoring Peter the Great's daughter Elizabeth, offered the Crown to Anne, Duchess of Courland, the widowed daughter of the imbecile Ivan, who had been joint Czar with Peter the Great, passing over her elder sister Catherine, probably because she was married to the German Duke of Mecklenburgh.

Anne of Courland was offered the throne, on condition of her subscribing to a constitution which would have reduced the autocracy to a limited monarchy. She did so, but as soon as she found herself seated upon it, she repudiated the agreement, and appealed for support to the troops, haranguing a battalion of the regiment of Preobrażhenski Guards and a troop of the Horse Guards, and giving every officer and soldier, with her own hand, a glass of wine or brandy. The army rallied round her, and the advocates of the constitution were deported to Siberia. The Empress Anne was herself governed by a Courlander of low extraction, named Biren, who was her favourite, and during her life time he ruled Russia with absolute power, and made such bad use of it, that he became thoroughly detested by the whole nation. Like most Russian royal favourites, he atoned for the partiality of his mistress by a long residence in Siberian exile under her successors.

Anne was a woman of coarse passions, low tastes, and brutal manners. She boxed the ears of her maids of honour, and a lady of rank at her court who had offended her was publicly flogged by her orders.

In Anne's reign war again broke out with Turkey. Both the Russians and the Austrians took up arms to abate the nuisance of the continual raids upon their subjects by the man-stealing Turks and Tatars. The Crimea and all the country between it and Moldavia to the north of the Black Sea, was then occupied by nomad Tatars, the remains of the once powerful Golden Horde; and was called by European geographers "Little Tartary," or "Kleine Tartarei," to distinguish it from Great Tartary in Central Asia. The Tatars who gave their name to it, almost precisely resembled the Turkomans, who in the present century raided all the eastern provinces of Persia until they were subdued by the Russians: but the former had a regular Government under a hereditary Khan of the house of Girái, assisted by two chiefs who combined military and civil State functions under the titles of Mir ud Din, and Kalghá Sultán, and who commanded the Tatar armies in the absence of the Khan, or divisions of it under his orders. These armies were entirely composed of cavalry, and were still armed partially with bows and arrows.

The Khán held his permanent court at the town of Bágcha Saráí or 'the Garden Palace' in the peninsula of the Crimea, which was looked on by the Tatars as their chief refuge and place of strength, owing to the facility of defending the narrow isthmus of Perekop, which was the only land access to it.

The chief means of subsistence of these Tatars was the plunder of the neighbouring provinces of Russia, Poland, and Roumania, and even of Hungary and Transylvania; and the price of the slaves whom they carried off in their raids. In the time of Giles Fletcher, they came, he says, into Russia "to get store of captives, specially young boys and girls, whom they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them greate baskets made like baker's panniers to carrie them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyer, or to be sicke on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and leave him dead." The people of Europe had an exaggerated idea of the strength and courage of these Tatars, which hardly seems borne out by the facts of history. Both Prince Cantemir of Moldavia and Baron de Tott, who served with the Turkish armies in the Eighteenth Century, esteemed the Tatars as braver and better soldiers than the Turks: yet we never find them making any stand against the Russians in the field. The Persians at the present day seem to have a similarly exaggerated idea of the prowess of the Turkomans.

In this war, which lasted four years, the Russian armies were led by Münnich, a German, and Lacy, an Irishman. The latter was a partisan of the Stuarts, and had quitted Ireland after the capitulation of Limerick. Both were skilful Generals, and the war was one of unbroken success on the side of the Russians; the Grand Vazir Yegen Muhammad, with the flower of the Ottoman troops, being employed against the Austrians in Servia. Münnich first, and Lacy afterwards, forced their way into the Crimea, and inflicted severe chastisement on the Tatars; and the Turkish frontier fortresses of Choczim and Oczakoff were taken by storm with terrible carnage. But the Austrians were completely beaten by the Turks, and made a separate and disadvantageous peace; and the Empress Anne, being abandoned by her ally, did not care to continue the war alone, and yielded back most of her conquests to the Turks, retaining only a small strip of territory between the Bug and the Dnieper. The power of the Tatars for mischief had, however, been greatly crippled, and from this time forth they had a salutary respect for the Russian arms.

The Empress Anne died a year after the peace had been concluded, in 1740. She named, as her successor, Ivan, her infant grand nephew, and appointed Biren as Regent during his minority.

This child was the son of Anthony Ulrich, Prince of Brunswick, who had married a daughter of the Czarina Anne's elder sister, Catherine Duchess of Mecklenburgh. Anne's object in naming him was to throw the real power into the hands of her favourite. But hardly was she dead when Marshal Münnich, relying upon the support of the army, and the detestation in which Biren was held by all the Russians, surprised and arrested him in his bed, and deported him to Siberia, appointing himself Regent in his stead. But immediately afterwards, another Palace Revolution took place directed this time against the German party, of which Münnich was the head. The Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, was proclaimed Czarina: the Imperial Guards at once joined her, and the rest of the army and the whole nation followed suit: Münnich was in his turn arrested and sent to join Biren in Siberia: and the infant Emperor Ivan was committed to prison in the fortress of Schlüsselburgh, where he remained many years, till he was murdered there by order of Catherine the Second, upon an attempt to rescue him.

Elizabeth was thirty-two years of age when she ascended the throne. Her private character was worse than that of Anne though she paid more regard to outward propriety, and made amends for her licentious life, by a strict observance of religious duties, and a cruel persecution of dissenters from the orthodox church. Her manners were polished and her tastes luxurious; she encouraged literature and the arts, and wrote verses of very fair merit. The Empire was governed by her favourites during her reign, as it was in Anne's time. She nominated as her successor her nephew Peter, the son of the Duke of Holstein by the eldest daughter, now dead, of Peter the Great; bringing him from Holstein to reside at her Court, and marrying him to the Princess Catherine of Anhalt Zerbst, a bride selected for him by King Frederick the Great of Prussia. Frederick's sarcastic remarks on the private life of Elizabeth, whom he styled "l' infame Catin du Nord," unluckily came to her ears, and decided her to join the coalition which his enemy, the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, had succeeded in forming against him; and in the great war which deluged Europe with blood for seven years, the Russian armies were arrayed against Frederick's troops, then justly reckoned the best in Europe. The Russians, on their part, had not been engaged with a European enemy since the time of Peter the Great; and against the Prussians they employed the same clumsy tactics which they had used under Münnich against the Turks and Tatars.

The first campaign had no result, though the Russians crossed the Prussian frontier in overwhelming numbers. There

was only a handful of defenders to oppose them, as Frederick and all his available forces were confronting the French and Austrians at the other end of his Kingdom. It is said that the Russian General Apraxin had been bribed by Frederick: he was disgraced and dismissed by the Empress. Next year, Marshal Fermor, a Russian of English extraction (his name had originally been Farmer) led the army. The Russians took Konigsberg, Thorn, and Elbing, and committed the most horrid ravages. They had laid siege to Cüstrin, when Frederick, who had already completely disposed of the French at Rossbach, and the Austrians at Leuthen, hurried up to meet them and attacked them at Zorndorff, where was fought the bloodiest battle of modern times. The Russians were far superior in numbers, but through bad tactics and inability to manœuvre, they were defeated with dreadful slaughter. Their army had been formed up in one enormous square, the formation which they used to keep off the Tatár horse: through this the Prussian Artillery made great lanes, and it is said that one Prussian cannon shot killed twenty-four Russian grenadiers. They lost one hundred guns and thirty stand of colours, though the Russian soldiers behaved with the greatest bravery, and extorted the unwilling admiration of their enemies. Marshal Fermor was in his turn disgraced, and the command given to Saltikoff. Next year the Russians effected a junction with the Austrians, and at the great battle of Kunersdorf, it was the indomitable resolution of the Russian infantry that converted a threatened defeat into a brilliant victory. Prussia was overrun, and, next year, Berlin was taken and plundered by the Cossacks. Frederick must have succumbed beneath the united weight of his enemies, but in the next year, the fifth of the war, the Empress Elizabeth suddenly died. Her successor, Peter the Third, was German by birth and predilections, and had a great admiration for Frederick the Great. He at once made peace, and gave up all the Russian conquests, and even sent assistance to Frederick to enable him to carry on the war against Austria.

This unfortunate young man was debauched and weak minded, and had made himself both hated and despised by his clever and ambitious wife. By his partiality for Germans and everything German he soon also made himself detested by his Russian subjects.

Catherine, though herself a German, had entered into a close alliance with the old Russian national party, and she now put herself at the head of the troops, and effected a bloodless revolution. Peter had not the courage to fight; he surrendered, and was soon put quietly out of the way—strangled, report says, by one of the Orloffs, the new Empress's favorites and lovers.

Catherine the Second was unanimously elected to the vacant throne by the voices of the soldiery. In the person of this young, handsome and clever woman, Russia had, at last, for the first time since the death of the Great Peter, gained a Sovereign worthy of her destiny. Catherine's reign of thirty-five years was one long triumphal march of conquest and victory The awe-stricken Turks and Persians called the Czarina "Khurshid Kulah" or "Sun-crowned."

She waged long and bloody wars against the Ottoman Turks, forcing them back to the Danube, and driving them from the frontiers of Poland and from all the northern shore of the Black Sea. She even sent round a fleet into the Mediterranean to attack them in the Levant, and the Ottoman navy was destroyed, chiefly by the exertions of English Officers, many of whom then served in the Russian marine. Catherine used her utmost efforts to induce the Greeks and other Christian subjects of the Porte to rebel, and very nearly succeeded in stirring up the general insurrection in Greece which, after all, broke out thirty years later. Her plans would doubtless have succeeded, had the execution of them been entrusted to more competent instruments, but, on the whole, the Russian expedition to the Levant fell far short of accomplishing the results expected from it. "Never was there an expedition," says the Scotch traveller, Bruce, who was in the Levant at the time, "so successful and so distant, where the officers were less instructed from the Cabinet, more ignorant of the countries, more given to useless parade, and more intoxicated with pleasure, than the Russians in the Mediterranean then were."

In their land campaigns the Russians were almost uniformly successful against the brave but ignorant Turks, who were sacrificed in thousands to the stupidity and incapacity of their own commanders. The frightful slaughter which took place at the storming of Oczakoff, Ismail, and other captured Turkish fortresses, sent a thrill of horror through Europe. Many provinces were rent away from the Turkish dominions, and the way laid open to the Danube, and into the heart of the Ottoman Empire. Catherine also extinguished the dynasty and the independence of the last of the Tatar Khanates of the Golden Horde, annexing the Crimea to Russia, and putting an end for ever to the raids of the man-stealers on Christendom. The fierce and warlike Tatars have now become the tamest and most peace-loving of Russian subjects. Even in Prince Cantemir's time, he notes with wonder how the Russians with their "knutes and battogues" (whips and rods), have made the truculent Tatars of Kazau and Astrachan tame as sheep: and similar means now produced

a similar singular change in the character and habits of the Tatars of the Crimea. When the allied armies landed in the Crimea, seventy years after the Russian conquest, the Tatars made not an effort to rise against their masters. The rapid decay of martial instincts in Oriental races, when not preserved by constant use, may similarly be observed in some of the old fighting races of British India, such as the Mahrattas.

Catherine also pushed the Russian arms into the valleys of the Caucasus Ranges, and commenced that desperate struggle with the Muhammadan Circassian and Lesghian mountaineers which lasted to our own time. At the close of her reign a Russian army under Valerian Zuboff expelled the Persians from Georgia, and occupied Tiflis. In the West she was equally successful: she added the greater part of the kingdom of Poland to the Russian Empire, dividing it with the Sovereigns of Prussia and Austria in three successive partitions. Unjust and unlawful as the partition of Poland was, the chief blame of the act rests with the Polish nobility themselves, whose factions and selfish conduct had reduced the country to anarchy, and made any form of government impossible.

Catherine's private life was as scandalous and licentious as that of Anne or Elizabeth; and a long array of lovers succeeded each other in the Imperial good graces, of whom the most famous were Gregory, Orloff and Potemkin.

Catherine was discriminating, however, in her choice, and her stalwart favourites were men of mental as well as of physical power. She was a benevolent despot, and had the art of making herself liked by those who knew her personally, while those who did not were dazzled into admiration by her talents, and we may say, reversing the epigram on her contemporary, George the Third of England, that never was there a worse woman or a better sovereign. Active and politic to the last, she was hurrying on the preparations for a Crusade against the French Republic, in conjunction with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, when she was struck down by a fit of apoplexy, and died in a few hours.

Her son, Paul, who succeeded her, totally reversed her policy, as so often happens in the case of the Russian autocracy. Not content with this, however, he totally reversed his own policy every two or three years, his bitter enemies and opponents of to-day becoming his dearest friends tomorrow. He was, in fact, mad, and his extraordinary freaks and caprices drove his ministers and councillors to desperation. In his reign the Russian armies appeared in Western Europe, served under the Duke of York in Holland, and under Suwarroff, swept the French from the plains of Italy and battled with them among

the mountains of Switzerland. The allies seemed to be in a fair way of marching upon Paris in 1800, when Paul suddenly took umbrage at the behaviour of the Austrians, and threw up his hand: Suwarroff and the Russian troops were recalled, and Paul became an ally of the First Consul of the French Republic and declared war against England. But his madness had now grown to such a height that no one was safe from its paroxysms; and his own officers, always in suspense lest they might themselves be his next victims, conspired against him, seized him at night in his bed, and strangled him on the spot. His sons acquiesced in the deed, if they did not actually connive at it; and the eldest of them, Alexander, quietly ascended the throne; though there was at first some little difficulty in allaying the resentment of the common soldiers at the death of their Emperor, whose capricious violence had affected only the officers.

The Czar Paul had done one sane thing: he abolished the law of Peter the Great which provided that the Czars should nominate their successors; and he enacted that, for the future, their eldest sons should succeed to the throne, according to the custom in all other European monarchies. Since his time the Empire of all the Russians has descended in an unbroken line for four generations.

The reign of Alexander the First belongs to the most stirring period of modern European history: and the decided part taken against the arch-enemy Napoleon by the Czar and the nation, gave the Russians a preponderating influence in the Councils of Europe at and after the Congress of Vienna. An invasion of Russia proved as fatal to the French Emperor in 1812, as it had to Charles the Twelfth of Sweden one hundred years before. After Waterloo and the final cessation of the French wars, Alexander joined the Holy Alliance formed by Russia, Prussia and Austria, which had for its object the maintenance of the Divine Right of kings to misgovern their subjects, and of Priests to mislead their flocks. But the spread of scientific knowledge and of progressive ideas has long since split up this unholy alliance, and the Empire of Russia now stands isolated in its sombre and solitary despotism.

Alexander himself began life as a Liberal, but advancing years had their natural effect on his character, and by the close of his life he had almost become a despot of the most unmitigated type. He left no sons, and was succeeded by his third brother, Nicholas, the second, Constantine, waving his right to the throne. The latter was said to have inherited the madness of his unfortunate father, but his resignation of his right to succeed in favour of a younger brother of whom he

recognised the superior qualifications, showed that there was a method in his madness. He was wholly given up to soldiering—not war, but barrack and parade soldiering. Dressing, drilling, and inspecting guards and orderlies were at once the business and the pleasure of his life. It is said that he collected thirty-six thousand men together to judge whether their uniform coats looked better with eight or with nine buttons.

He had no idea of allowing the cares and troubles of a crown to interfere with his serious pursuits, and would as peacefully as contentedly have transferred his right to his younger brother, but that revolutionary ideas and free-born thoughts had already made their way even into Holy Russia; and a band of political enthusiasts seized the opportunity of the doubtful succession to attempt to procure a constitution for their country. They succeeded in suborning a number of the troops, who joined them, apparently under the mistaken impression that they were supporting the claims of Constantine: it, is said the ignorant soldiers supposed the constitution referred to by their leaders to be the name of Constantine's wife. The abortive insurrection which took place was sternly crushed and cruelly punished by Nicholas, who soon proved himself quite able to govern, without the aid of any newfangled constitution, by means of the old fashioned instruments of paternal despotism. During his reign Russia was literally ruled by the rod. Ladies who prattled politics, underwent the discipline of the nursery in expiation of their naughtiness. The Russian nation was kept under the same kind of government as the children of the old woman who lived in the shoe.

This Spartan system of discipline repressed the outward manifestation of disorders, but it did not conduce to the healthy growth of the national life, which, in spite of its natural tendency to expand, remained dwarfed and stunted all through the long reign of Nicholas. From this cause the foreign wars which he fostered were feebly carried on, and their success fell short of his expectations. Alexander had waged a chronic war with both Turkey and Persia, the legacy of his grandmother Catherine, almost during his whole reign. Nicholas signalised the commencement of his by attacking both of these Powers afresh. He conquered part of Armenia from the latter, and forced the former to acknowledge the independence of Greece, after the Russian armies had reached Adrianople in Europe, and Erzeroum in Asia. He was bent on reaching Constantinople before his death, and his precipitate ambition brought England and France into the field as the unwilling defenders of the much enduring Turk against the great Northern bully. This unexpected turn of affairs upset all Nicholas' calculations, and he died as much of chagrin, as of illness, during the long

siege of Sebastopol, while the allied armies were still on Russian soil. His son, Alexander, not being pledged by a personal policy to the prosecution of the war, was able to make peace with honour, Russia ceding a small strip of territory at the mouth of the Danube, not to Turkey, but to Roumania. The result of the Crimean war was creditable and honourable to Russia: she alone waged war on equal terms for two years against England and France, aided by Turkey and Sardinia: and after a year's hard fighting lost only three quarters of the city of Sebastopol: for the quarter on the north side of the harbour remained in Russian hands till the close of the war. In Asia the Russians had taken Kars, and appeared victorious to the Persians and Kurds.

Their country had again proved practically invulnerable, and the English and French fleets in the Baltic had been unable even to attempt the defences of Cronstadt. Neither Poles nor Circassians could free themselves from the strangling grip of the Muscovite, even when he was himself striving for dear life with a powerful and ubiquitous enemy.

Alexander the Second resembled his grandfather, more than his father, in character and policy. He encouraged Liberal ideas, and introduced many salutary and desirable reforms, the most sweeping and remarkable of which was the abolition of serfdom. He also abolished the judicial corporal punishment of women throughout the Empire: and reduced the maximum number of lashes allowed to be inflicted in the army from one thousand to fifty.

In the reign of Nicholas soldiers often expired under the lash, and in the police courts the whipping of women and girls with birch rods for trifling offences was of daily occurrence. He introduced many other measures mitigating the severity of the Russian laws and police system, but he had resort again to all the rigours of which he had already signalised his disapproval, in order to repress the revolt of the Poles, which broke out afresh in the year 1863. The mad martinet, Constantine, had been Viceroy of Poland in the early part of his brother Nicholas' reign: and his caprice and brutality, and the inflexible rigour of his brother the Czar, drove the Polish army and people into unanimous rebellion, at first successful, but after a year of heroic and hopeless struggle, quelled by the overwhelming forces of Russia, and crushed with unrelenting severity. It was on this occasion that Field Marshal Paskiewitch, after storming and sacking the Polish capital, issued his celebrated despatch, proclaiming "Order reigns in Warsaw."

Nicholas took the opportunity to abrogate the constitution which had been granted by his brother Alexander to the Poles, as a bribe to detach them from the side of Napoleon,

and which had been confirmed by the approval of the Congress of Vienna. In 1846 another abortive insurrection took place, but this time mostly in Austrian Poland, which afforded an excuse for crushing the remaining liberties of the city of Cracow. The Poles remained quiescent during the Crimean war, probably from dread of the severities of Nicholas: under the milder rule of his son they again tried to shake off the Russian yoke, and alarmed the Czar into renewing his brother's system of repression by oppression. This will probably prove to have been the last blow ever struck by Poland for national independence. It was not only in Poland that Alexander the Second's Liberal measures produced an unforeseen and unfortunate result. Russian political and literary life, hitherto smothered and stifled till it was almost extinct, began, now that the repression was removed, to ferment with all kinds of wild communistic and socialistic ideas and doctrines. The diffusion of these doctrines soon attracted the notice of the government of the Czar, who remembered that a similar propaganda, commenced by Voltaire and Rousseau, and carried on by the philosophic Rationalists in France in the last century, had infected the mass of the French nation, and finally caused the great Revolution. They feared that similar results would follow should these monstrous doctrines be allowed to permeate the masses of the Russian people. The Czar thought himself obliged to check the current which he himself had first allowed to flow. The philosophers, forced to work in secret, soon became conspirators. Compelled to avoid the light, their works became deeds of darkness. Blindly groping for what they supposed and believed to be Truth and Right, they came to regard the iron and despotic will that barred their search, as the incarnation of wrong and falsehood. Hence Nihilism, which, in its most exaggerated expression, aims at the absolute abolition of all existing forms of government and religion, and the fanatical devotees of which, while professing their faith in the universal brotherhood of humanity, stick at no crime that may remove from their path the human obstacles to their Utopian dream of a coming millennium of universal peace and righteousness. These deluded and mischievous enthusiasts labour with the energy of giants, the cunning of foxes, and the heroic constancy of martyrs, to accomplish their unattainable ends: and the despot with a million bayonets at his orders, who bars the path to the inaccessible heights pictured by their imagination, finds the strongest walls and the most vigilant guards unavailing against their secret and ceaseless machinations. After Alexander the Second had escaped numerous attempts made by these fanatics upon his life: after his empty palace hall had

been blown up, and a railway train which was supposed to convey him, had been fruitlessly shattered by the explosion of a mine, he was at length killed in the streets of the capital by the throwing of shells filled with nitro-glycerine; and the Liberator Czar reaped death as the harvest of his measures intended to ameliorate the condition of his people.

The close of his reign had been signalised by the war undertaken against Turkey for the liberation of the Sclavonic populations subject to the Sultan. Some years before, when France was overthrown by Prussia and Germany in the seven months' war, the Czar seized the opportunity of her weakness to tear up the treaty forced on him after the Crimean war, daring England to fight him alone: but she made no sign. In 1878, when the Turkish armies had been annihilated, and the Russians were at the gates of Constantinople within a year from the declaration of war, the English Cabinet interfered, and insisted on Russia's submitting the terms of peace which she had imposed on Turkey, to the arbitrament of a European Congress. The Czar agreed, though not without reluctance, and the address of the diplomatists on both sides staved off the outbreak of the inevitable rupture between the two nations for some time longer.

The position of Constantinople and the trade of the Levant was not the sole cause of rivalry between Russia and England. In the last fifty years England had watched with jealousy and uneasiness the growing influence of Russia in Persia, and her gradual approach to the mountain ranges and plateaux overlooking the rich plains of India. As early as 1838, we had embarked in an ill judged and hazardous enterprise in Afghanistan, to obviate the effect of Russian intrigues in that country: and our English and Indian Press afterwards watched the progress of the Russian arms in Turkistan with unconcealed apprehension.

England and Russia are old allies. We were the first Western European nation to enter into diplomatic relations with Russia after her enfranchisement from the Tatar yoke: and the few occasions on which we were engaged in war, up to the time of the Crimean war, were caused invariably by the chance of her temporary alliance with our enemy, France. During the great Napoleonic wars, Russia was our staunchest ally, and our strongest coadjutor: and the friendship between the two nations lasted unbroken until the manifestation of the Emperor Nicholas' designs on Turkey, and the mission of Vikovich to Kabul. From that time forth, the breach has ever been widening, and the rupture has once actually culminated in war, and twice since threatened to do so. The cause of the mutual animosity arises, we must candidly confess, mostly on the

English side. It arises from our apprehension of Russia occupying Constantinople, and thereby dominating the whole Levant, *to the prejudice of our trade*: and of her threatening our peace and safety in India by the pressure of her enormous military strength on our frontiers. So far, our cause of quarrel with Russia is purely selfish: but to this is added the strength of the English sentiment against despotism and absolutism, and the brutal force of military rule. The Russians, on their part, resent the interference of England on behalf of Turkey, and our outspoken expression of opinion about the cruelties practised upon political prisoners. Otherwise they have no cause of quarrel with England, and would much sooner see us their ally than their enemy. The Emperor Nicholas long looked on England as his natural ally, and was anxious to draw her into an agreement for the partition of the Turkish Empire, if not of the whole of Western and Central Asia. He proposed to Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador at his court, an understanding, in virtue of which Russia and England should divide the Ottoman dominions. The former taking Constantinople, the latter Egypt and Cyprus. The Prince Consort and the English Cabinet were scandalised at this proposal to seize on the territories of a friendly power, and Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues replied, in words somewhat like those of Hazael: "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" Yet scarce forty years have elapsed since the Czar's proposal, and Egypt and Cyprus are both in English hands! A striking proof, if any were wanted, of the political foresight of the Emperor Nicholas and of the unerring instinct of Russian diplomacy. But, thanks to England's virtuous horror of the robbery of a neighbour, Russia still sighs for Constantinople in vain. Even now the Russians would willingly enter into a friendly alliance with England, on condition of being allowed a free hand in Rumelia and Anatolia. But to this we are not likely to agree. It is suspected that, even when the English and Russian frontiers run side by side in Asia, the Russians may be no more inclined to come to a halt than they are now, and in that case it may be our best policy to delay their advance as long as possible. Whether it be so or not, it is the policy which we have hitherto acted upon, and continue to act on.

After the conquest of the Tatar Khanates of Kazan and Astrachan in the sixteenth century, the Russians lived in a state of perpetual border warfare with the Musalman States to the east of the Caspian. Peter the Great sent an expedition against Khiva, which met with the same fate as our own expeditionary force in Kabul in 1842. The Czar Nicholas sent another army, which failed to reach Khiva across the

waterless deserts. But colonization and the growth of the population brought the Russian settlements up nearer and nearer to the frontier line, and the raids and robberies of the Uzbegs and Kirghiz provoked effective reprisals. In 1863 the Russians, on the second attempt, captured the frontier fort of Ak-Masjid (the white Mosque), the most northerly outpost of the Khanate of Khokand. From that day their progress has been steady and continuous. In less than thirty years they have overrun the whole of Turan, or Turkistan, to the borders of Afghanistan; have annexed Khokhand and Samarkand; reduced Bokhara and Khiva to the condition of vassals, and subdued the man-stealing Turkomans, the last vestiges of the once famous Tatar hordes that were for so many centuries the scourge of the Russian and Christian border-lands. On the west of the Caspian they have finally subdued the brave Lesghian and Circassian mountaineers, and united Caucasia and Turkistan by lines of steamers and railways. Ten years ago it was a cardinal maxim of Anglo-Indian statesmanship that a neutral zone must be maintained between the country of Afghanistan and the Russian frontier, lest Kabul should fall under the influence of St. Petersburgh. But this pretension, like all our other similar pretensions, has been given up as soon as it was fairly challenged by Russia. The Russian frontier now marches alongside the Afghan; and the peace of India has not yet been disturbed.

In case of our again opposing or thwarting the political design of Russia in the West, there is little doubt but that an immediate attack would be made upon our Indian frontier through Afghanistan. In 1878, when the English Cabinet interfered on behalf of fallen Turkey, and Lord Beaconsfield brought an Anglo-Indian contingent to Malta, the Russians marched twelve thousand men, all that they could then collect in Turkistan, towards the Indian frontiers. They detached the Amir Sher Ali from his alliance with us, and suborned him to assist their enterprise: and this entailed upon us two troublesome and profitless campaigns in Afghanistan. We now subsidise the Amir, Abdur Rahman, and reckon on his friendship; but his life will not last for ever, and we have no guarantee that he and his successors will not some day serve us as did our faithful ally Sher Ali Khan.

A war with Russia would mean the doubling or trebling of our native army, and an immense increase of the financial burdens of India. We could very likely get the men somehow or other; the difficulty would be to train them and wheel them into line in time to be of use. But a serious attempt on India on the part of Russia, at present, would take long to mature, and would probably give us ample

time for preparation. We trust to our wealth and to the chapter of accidents, and it is to be hoped that we may not be disappointed.

A war between England and Russia would probably be accompanied, if not inaugurated, by a civil war in Afghanistan, between rival factions supported respectively by the Russians and the English; and the history of the war of the succession in the Carnatic, between the French and English, would repeat itself.

Should the reigning Amir side with one of the rival Powers, the other would have no difficulty in raising a rival to supplant him, and in dividing the Afghan nation against itself: and this would confine the theatre of war to the country of the Amir, until one or other of the rival factions had, with the help of its European allies, exterminated the other.

The result in any case would be the extinction of the independence of Afghanistan, and probably the partition of the country between England and Russia, much as it was divided during the middle ages between the Musalman Empire of India and the Suffavi monarchy of Persia. It was only the decline and decay of these two over-shadowing Powers that enabled the Afghan tribes to assert and maintain a precarious independence.

Looking back on the political history of the past half century, it appears to us that the whole of the Continent of Asia will soon be partitioned between the three great Powers of England, Russia and China, for the smaller States which still intervene between their converging frontiers, are already in process of being absorbed or mediatised The Russian frontier marches with the Chinese along the whole northern and western border line of the Celestial Empire, and all the inevitable questions arising out of boundary disputes along such an extended line of little known country, inhabited by roving tribes, have hitherto been amicably, if somewhat tediously, adjusted by diplomacy, as congenial a pursuit to the Russian as it is to the Mandarin.

In Europe, Russia now occupies a singular position, having reverted almost to her old condition of isolation in European politics, before the time of Peter the Great. During the Eighteenth Century, the military and absolutist monarchy of Austria was Russia's favourite ally, and in more than one war their armies acted jointly in concert against the Turks and the Poles. Austria and Russia have never been at war with each other, except for a brief time, when Austria was forced reluctantly to follow the banners of Napoleon to the attack of her old ally. The partition of Poland brought Prussia

into the alliance, and for one hundred years these three great military monarchies maintained the closest relations, and followed the same main lines of policy.

In 1849, when Austria was distracted by popular revolutions, and was unable to quell the insurrection in Hungary, the Czar Nicholas came to her assistance: and old Marshal Paskiewitch, who had crushed the liberties of Poland, now led the Russian legions to annihilate those of Hungary. The Magyars, who were gallantly holding their own against the Germans, were overwhelmed by the multitudes of the Russian armies poured into their country upon their flank and rear.

But in 1854, when France and England declared war against Russia in defence of Turkey, Austria refused to redeem her obligation to the Czar, and lent the weight of her diplomacy rather to the cause of the Allied Powers. The Emperor Nicholas, who had fully counted on Austria's support, was deeply angered, and the Russian Cabinet and nation have not yet forgotten the ingratitude of their ancient ally. The rivalry of Sclave and German within the dominion of the house of Hapsburg has excited the national enthusiasm of the Sclavonian Russian; and the acquisition by Austria of Sclavonic Bosnia and Herzegovina has further excited their jealousy. They now eagerly anticipate the favourable moment when they may precipitate themselves upon Austria, and free their southern Sclavonian brethren from the foreign domination of the German and the Magyar.

Russia has no similar cause of quarrel with Prussia; but this same old and now newly revived race antipathy between the Sclave and the Nemcha* has also produced a coolness in the international relations between these two countries. Prussia has shown clearly that her sympathies, in the event of the impending quarrel, would be with German Austria; and the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, has taken the place of the old Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia and Austria.

Russia thus stands alone and isolated in the European Councils: for though France courts her friendship, in the hope of her some day being the antagonist of Germany the Czar looks coldly upon any prospect of a community of interest between his absolute government and a Democratic Republic; and the dominating idea of modern Russian politics is Panslavism, which admits no foreign sympathy. Its avowed aim is the consolidation of all the peoples of Sclavonic race into one nation and one Empire: it aspires to unite the Servian, the Bulgarian, the Croat and Czech in one Sclavonia, with

* "Nemcha" *i.e.*, "dumb:" the name applied by the Sclaves to the Germans, as being unable to speak the Sclavonic tongue. Hence the Turks and Arabs also call the Germans "Nemsa."

Russia under one Czar: just as Bismarck united Bavarian and Saxon and Hessian in one Germanic Empire under the hegemony of Prussia; and Cavour and Garibaldi united Lombardy and Tuscany and Naples with Piedmont into one united Italy under Victor Emmanuel. Nor is the idea chimerical, or impossible, as the idea of German and of Italian unity was not long ago believed to be. The aspiration for unity existed long deep down in the national heart of Germans and Italians, before Bismarck and Cavour appeared to give it shape and force; and the same aspiration is even now agitating the minds of the Sclavonic peoples, the dwellers in the Principalities of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as the Sclave subjects of Austria. Whether a natural and spontaneous growth, or whether the result of the labours of the Russian political agitators and apostles of Pansclavism, the idea has taken root and brought forth fruit in all countries inhabited by people of Sclavonic race.

The Austrian Empire is the great difficulty in the way of the realisation of the dreams of the Pansclavists: the Sultan has but few Sclavonic subjects left to him; and the new States that have been carved out of his Empire—Servia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, already furnish a theatre for the diplomatic contest begun between Russia and Austria for the leadership of the southern Sclaves. Of these, Montenegro is the obedient tool of Russia; and a change of Cabinet, and the abdication of King Milan, has made the Russian party for the present supreme in Servia. Only in Bulgaria, a German Prince and a Liberal Ministry still thwart the schemes of the Pansclavists.

But Austria has assumed the *rôle* of protector of the Sclave States of the Balkan Peninsula too late. She was looked to by the southern Sclaves as the coming deliverer from the Turkish tyranny two hundred years ago, before Russia had appeared in the field; but the Jesuits spoiled her game, and made her throw away her chance.

Austria appeared always as the persecutor of the Greek Church and the upholder of the pretensions of Rome, in days when religion was the dominant factor in politics: and now that racial have replaced religious affinities in the strivings of the nations, even the Catholic Czechs and Croats look to Russia to deliver them from the dominion of the German. With Austrians and Hungarians jealous and distrustful of each other, and their Sclave fellow subjects hating them both equally, there seems little chance of the dream of Austrian statesmen being realised, and the frontier of the dual monarchy reaching Salonica on the Ægean: the ill-cemented fabric would fall to pieces and resolve into its constituent parts under the blows

that Russia stands ready to deliver, were she not held back by the fear of having to encounter the whole force of Germany as well.

Russia has risen within the short space of two centuries from the condition of a small and semi-barbarous State, of no more account in the politics of the Europe of Louis the Fourteenth, than Servia or Bulgaria is now, to the position of one of the greatest of the Great Powers of the world. Her growth in wealth and resources and civilization during that time has been continuous, and is yet going on: yet her system of government is still as autocratic and despotic as it was in the days of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great. She now stands upon the threshold of great enterprises and stirring events, which may make a momentous change in her own and in the world's history. There are some who maintain that the Czar Alexander the Third is playing a waiting game, inspired by a profound policy; and that he only attends the full development of the enormous military strength secured to Russia by the adoption of universal compulsory service in the army, to realise the wildest dreams of the Panslavists, and to carry the frontiers of Russia to the shores of the Ægean. But the future looms full of dangers and difficulties for Russia's soldiers and statesmen.

Abroad, their ambitious schemes of aggrandisement can no longer be carried out at the expense of weak and disorganised neighbours, and the further advance of her frontiers is barred by watchful and powerful foes. At home the growing discontent of the educated classes, acted on by the demon of Nihilism, and repressed by the Government with unrelenting severity, threatens to explode in some frightful political and social catastrophe, like the French Revolution. But whatever may be the storms ahead, the national courage and energy of the Russian people and the skill of Russia's statesmen may be trusted to weather them, and to speed the vessel of her State on the career of prosperity and success which will doubtless attend it for ages yet to come.

## ART. VIII.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF MULTAN.

THE famous city of Multan, identifiable with the capital of the Malli conquered by Alexander in his memorable invasion of the Panjab, is situated four miles from the left bank of the Chenab—the Acesines of the ancients—after it has received the waters of the Ravi and the Jhelum. The rising ground—the accumulated debris of ages—on which the citadel stands, and the numerous ruins and places of interment scattered round the town, furnish unquestionable evidence of its great antiquity. Originally, the town and citadel were pleasantly situated on two islands in the Ravi, at an elevation of some 150 feet above the surface of the surrounding country; but, centuries ago, the river deserted its old channel, and, turning to the westward, it now flows thirty-two miles above the town. Its former channel, which surrounded the fortress, can still be traced, and, during seasons of high floods, the waters reach Multan, thus testifying to the truth of the statement made by the historians of Alexander, that the conqueror circumnavigated the fortress.

The city was originally named Kasyapapura, after Kasyapa, its mythical founder, who, according to the Hindu tradition, was the father of the twelve Adityas, or Sun-gods; and the solar worship for which it became so famous throughout India, and which still survives, is said to have been instituted by Samba, the son of Krisna, the well-known antagonist of Báná, the great grandson of Prabhalada, the younger son of Kasyapa, who succeeded his elder brother Daitya. It was this Daitya's denial of the divinity and omnipresence of Vishnu that led to the incarnation of Nara Sinha, or the "man lion." His successor, Prabhalada, after whom the city was called Prabhaladpura, revived the worship of the god, who was regarded as a household deity. Samba's assiduous worship of Mitra, the Sun-god, is said to have cured him of leprosy, and, in commemoration of the event, he erected a golden statue of Mitra and dedicated to him a temple named Adyasthána. This golden statue, called Aditya, became the celebrated idol of Multan, the fame of which attracted pilgrims from the remotest parts of India for many centuries.

The legend which asserts that Kasyapapura was the original name of the city, derives confirmation from the identity of Multan with the Kaspapuros of Hecatæus, the Kaspeira of Ptolemy and the Kaspapuros of Herodotus. In

ancient Sanskrit literature the name Kasyapapura occurs, along with Hansapura, Bhagapura and Sambapura, to which General Cunningham adds Prahladapura and Adyasthana—literally the "First Shrine,"—the name given to the temple of Mitra.

Ptolemy describes Kaspeira as situated at a bend of the Rhuadis (Ravi), just above its junction with the Sandobág (Chandrabhágá, or Chenab). As the modern city of Multan stands on the old bank of the Ravi, which, as late as the days of Taimur (1398-99 A. D.) flowed past it, its identification with the Kaspeira of Ptolemy is unavoidable, and the fact, so important from an antiquarian point of view, is established, that "Multan, or Kaspeira, whose dominion extended from Kashmir to Mathura, must have been the principal city in the Panjab towards the middle of the second century of the Christian era."

The first mention of Mulasthanapura (City of the Temple of the Sun), which undoubtedly gave its name to the modern city of Multan, occurs in the travels of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Houen Thsang, who, after visiting Udambara (Kachh), Zangala (Beluchistan), Patala, or Pitasila (Hyderabad), and Alor, the capital of Sindh, came to Multan in October, 641 A. D. This was during the reign of Raja Chach, who, having subverted the dynasty of kings known as Rais, occupied the city and province of Multan in 631 A. D. His brother, Chanda, who succeeded him on his death, was a zealous follower of the Budhist faith.

The Chinese traveller found the circuit of the city to be 30 Li, which is about equal to five English miles. He saw the golden statue of Mitra, gorgeously attired and magnificently placed in a temple, to which all the Princes of India sent rich presents. He calls the city Meulo-san-pu-lo, which is transcribed into Mulasthanapura.

The existence of the golden statue is mentioned in the Bhavishya Purana, an ancient Sanskrit work; and it was owing to its possession of such a treasure and to its wealth in gold, that the early Arab conquerors called the place *Farj*, or "House of gold."

Multan was first visited by the Moslem arms during the reign of the Khalifa Abu Bekr, 44 Hijri (664 A.D.), when Mohalib, the Arab General, afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia, separating from the main army of the invaders, penetrated to the ancient capital of the Malli, whence he carried away many prisoners of war. The expedition, however, seems to have been directed to the exploration of the country, and no attempt was apparently made to retain the conquest.

The Chachnámá, written originally in Arabic, is a work for which great antiquity is claimed, and which, notwithstanding its tedious speeches, contains, according to Elphinstone, "a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Mahomed Kasim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindu reigns." It was written, presumably, before the foundation of Mansura* (the Mahomedan capital of Sindh, close to Brahmanabad, called Harmatelia by Diodorus), for there is no mention in it of that town, or of Al Raiza, Manjabari or Maswahi, important towns noticed by Biladuri and Ibn Haukal, the early Arabian authors on Sindh. The author, in his description of the conquest of Multan by the Arabs under Mahomed Kasim, invariably calls it "Sikka Multan." Many obstinate engagements are described as having been fought, in which "rivers of blood flowed on both sides." After he had conquered Askalanda, a strong fort, where he put four thousand fighting men to the sword, we are told, he proceeded, with his whole army to "Sikka Multan," on the south bank of the Ravi, which is said to have been defended by Rajhra. The place was not reduced till after a hotly contested battle which lasted seven days, and in which many distinguished officers of the Moslem army were killed. All the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms were massacred in cold blood; six thousand ministers of the temple were carried away as slaves, besides all the women and children, and a mosque was erected in the city.

In a subterranean room beneath the great idol, a vast treasure was found, and this was further augmented by contributions raised from the inhabitants. The story of the discovery of the treasure is thus related by Abu Rehan: "Historians relate, on the authority of Ali bin Mahomed, to whom it had been related by Abu Mahomed Hindui, that Mahomed Kasim arose, and, with his generals, courtiers, guards and attendants, went into the temple, where he beheld an idol made of pure gold, its two eyes being of bright red rubies. Mahomed Kasim, mistaking the image for a man, drew his sword, intending to sever the head from the body; but the Brahmans, prostrating themselves before the conqueror, exclaimed: 'O true Commander, this is the image which was made by Jibawil, King of Multan, who concealed beneath it, in a reservoir, a treasure exceeding all limit and computation, and then departed.' The Arab General thereupon ordered the idol to be removed, and an underground chamber was discovered, in which were found two hundred and thirty maunds

* It was built in the beginning of the reign of the Khalifa Almansur, who succeeded in 136 A. H. (753 A. D.). – Elliot.

of gold and forty jars filled with gold dust. The latter, being weighed, was found to amount to thirteen thousand and two maunds of gold."

On enquiring the cause of the great wealth of the city and the flourishing condition of its inhabitants, Mahomed Kasim was informed that it was due to the offerings made to the idol, which were brought from all parts of India. The Arab General, anxious to add to the resources of his newly conquered dominions, allowed the idol to remain uninjured, but, as a token of his indignation, he caused a piece of cow's flesh to be suspended from its neck. The idol was allowed to remain during the entire period of the supremacy of the Khalifs of the Umayya dynasty.

From the account of the expeditions of Raja Chach against Multan, given in the Chachnámá, it appears that "Sikka" was the name of the fort on the Ravi, opposite Multan, for it is stated that "the Raja, having defeated Rajhra, and occupied Sikka on the Ravi, crossed over to lay siege to the capital."

Rajhra retired under the walls of the city, and, after an unsuccessful appeal for succour to the sovereign of Kashmir, surrendered it on honourable terms. Abul Kasim, better known to oriental scholars by the name of Ibn Khurdaba, who flourished under the Khalifs of Baghdad, was the earliest known of the Arab geographers who wrote on India and the East. His work is known under the title of "The Book of Roads and Kingdoms." Its date is not known; but the author, who devoted his leisure hours to geographical researches, died in 300 A. H. (912 A. D.) He calls Multan, which he describes as being two months journey from Zaranj, the capital of Sijistan, by the name of Farj, because Mahomed, son of Kasim, Lieutenant of Al Hajjaj, found vast quantities of gold in the city, which henceforward was called by the Arabs the "House of Gold."

Al Masúdí, of Baghdad, who visited the valley of the Indus in 303 A. H. (915 A. D.) and who wrote his much admired work, "The Meadows of Gold," about the year 330, A. H. (942 A. D.), has left us a glowing account of the condition of Islam in the beginning of the 10th century. Speaking of Multan, which he places seventy-five Sindhian farsangs from Mansura, he says: "It is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musulmans, and in its neighbourhood there are a hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages." This notice of the city and surrounding country, by such an acute observer as Al Masúdí is admitted to have been, affords convincing testimony to the fertility of the region during the early period of the Mahomedan occupation. Speaking of the idol, Al Masúdí says:

"People living in the distant parts of Sindh and Hind, travel to it to perform pilgrimage, and in fulfilment of their vows and religious obligations, they make offerings of money, precious stones, perfumes of every kind, and aloe wood before it. The sovereign of Multan derives the principal part of his revenues from the valuable offerings made to the idol. When the faithful are harassed by the unbelievers marching against Multan, they bring out the idol and threaten to break it in pieces, or reduce it to ashes, and the assailants are thus induced to withdraw forthwith."

The Amir of Multan, described as being of the Arab tribe of Koresh, was named Abu Dowlat al Munabba, son of Assadas Sami. The kingdom of Multan is represented as having been hereditary in his family since the introduction of Islam into Sindh. Al Masúdí speaks of Multan as the greatest of the countries which form a frontier against unbelieving nations, and he asserts that Kanauj was included in that province.

Both Istakhri, of Istakhr, or Persepolis, who wrote about the middle of the tenth century (340 A. H., 951 A. D.), and Ibn Haukal, of Baghdad, who based his work on that of Istakhri, give glowing accounts of Multan, which they describe as a large fortified and impregnable city, about half the size of Mansura, the ancient Mahomedan capital of Sindh.

They speak of the idol "Multan," as being held in great veneration by the Hindus, who flock to it from all parts of India on religious pilgrimages, and make large offerings which are spent on the temple and its devotees. The temple of the idol, 300 feet high, is spoken of as a strongly built edifice, "situated in the market, the most thickly populated part of the town, between the streets of the ivory dealers and the coppersmiths' quarters." Multan is celebrated to this day for its elegant ivory bangles and toys and for its copper utensils, which form no insignificant part of its internal trade. The idol, twenty cubits high, they say, stood in the centre of the building, under a cupola, round which lived the ministering priests and worshippers. It was set on a platform of brickwork, and was made of wood (no longer of gold, be it observed) in human shape, covered with red Cordova leather, and seated with the legs bent in a quadrangular posture, the hands resting on the knees, with the fingers all closed Its two eyes were of two red rubies, and its head was surmounted with a golden crown.

About half a mile from the city was an extensive cantonment, called Chandrawár, where lived the Governor of Multan, in a magnificent castle. He belonged to the noble tribe of Koresh, and acknowledged no allegiance to the chief of Mansura, but read the Khutba in the name of the Khalifa of

Baghdad. He never entered the city except on Fridays, and then, mounted on an elephant, to take part in the service of the Sabbath.

How the golden statue, expressly mentioned in the Sanskrit texts and by Houen Thsang, became converted into the wooden figure referred to by Al Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, has not been ascertained. According to the author of the Chachnama, who wrote his work contemporaneously with the conquests of Mahomed Kasim, the golden idol was allowed to remain uninjured by the Arab General.

The next mention of Multan by the early Arab geographers is in the excellent work of Abu Rehan Al Biruni, written by him only a few weeks after the death of his famous master, Mahmud of Ghazni, whom he had accompanied to India. It treats of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, customs and laws of the Hindus of India about the year 1030 A.D. He calls Multan "Mulasthana;" and, noticing the conquests of Kasim in this part of the country, he writes: "Mahomed Ibn ul Kasam Ibn ul Munabbih entered Sindh from this side of Sijistan, and conquered the cities of Bahmanwa and Mulasthana, the former of which he called Almansura and the latter Almamura." He entered India proper and penetrated as far as Kannoj, marching to the country of Gandhava, and on his way back through the confines of Kashmir.

He informs us that, when the Karmatians became masters of Multan, Jalam, the son of Shaiban, the usurper, did not prove as tolerant as the preceding sovereigns had been towards the celebrated Hindu shrine. He broke the idol in pieces, put all the priests attached to the temple to the sword, and converted the temple itself into a Jama Masjid, and, to show his dislike of the Khalifs of the House of Umayya, closed the old mosque which had been constructed under them.

"When the blessed king Mahmud," continues our author, "subdued the Karmatians (who were followers of the Shia sect) he, as the great champion of the Sunnis, restored the old mosque as the place of Friday worship, and the second one was left to decay." This occurred in 1005 A.D., when Mahomed captured Multan.

The old mosque, referred to by Al Biruni, was the musjid built by Mahomed bin Kasim, which had been deserted by the Karmatians.

According to Ferishta, Sheik Hamid Lodi, the first ruler of Multan, had paid tribute to Amir Sabaktagin; but his grandson, Abul Fath Daud, the son of Nasir, having shaken off his allegiance to the house of Ghizni, joined Anand Pal, the successor of Jeypal, Raja of Lahore. Mahmud entered Multan by way of Bhatinda, and besieged the city for seven days,

but Daud, having received news of the defeat of his ally, Anand Pal, near Peshawar, and not feeling strong enough to keep the field alone, retreated, and was subsequently pardoned, on stipulating to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhams.

On the decline of the Ghiznivide dynasty, Multan once more fell under the native Hindus, but the Shias again became masters of Multan and were not finally expelled until 1176 A. D., when Sultan Shahab ud din, commonly known as Mahomed Ghori, having seated himself on the throne of Ghizni, led an army against Multan, which he conquered. He appointed Ali Kasmani his governor of Multan and Uch.

This was the same Mahomed Ghori who, having inflicted a death blow on the empire of the Hindus under Pirthwi Raj, took possession of Delhi, the ancient metropolis of India, in 1193, thus becoming the founder of the Mahomedan sovereignty in India. From that time Multan, which had remained independent under the Arab rulers, was treated as a dependency of the house of Ghizni, during the reign of Mahmud and his successors, and, lapsing again to the Hindus ultimately, became an appendage of the Delhi empire. Abu Rehan, on his visit to Multan, found neither the temple nor the idol in existence; but the Hindus, subsequently, on recovering their independence, restored the temple and set up the idol, to which offerings were made, as usual, by the people. Thus, when Al Idrisi, of Morocco, wrote his work on geography called the "*Nuzhatul Mushtak fi Iftákhar ul afak*," about the year 1130, A. D., or about the time of the decline of the Ghiznivide dynasty, the Sun-god of Multan was flourishing, and was worshipped by the Hindus with as much zeal as ever. The temple of the idol is described as being situated in the centre of the city, in a most frequented bazar, or quarter. "The building," writes Al Idrisi, "is dome-shaped. The interior of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are works of great solidity. The columns are very lofty, and the walls are decorated with various colors. There is no idol in Hind, or Sind, more highly venerated. The people obey it as law and make it the object of a pious pilgrimage. The inhabitants maintain that its presence secures divine protection, and regard it as a guardian against all misfortunes and calamities. When a neighbouring Prince declares war against Multan, the priests threaten the aggressors with the wrath of the Sun-god, and predict their destruction, and the assailants at once renounce their design."

Al Idrisi describes Multan as a large city, equal in size to Mansura, commanded by a citadel with four gates and surrounded by a moat. Provisions are represented as being abundant,

the taxes light, and the people well-to-do. It was called the "House of Gold."

Zakaria Al Kazwini, who wrote his work called the Asar ul bilad wa Akhbar ul 'Ibad (Monuments of Countries and Memories of Men) about 1263, A. D., when the Slave Kings were in power in Hindustan, writes of Multan as a large fortified and impregnable city, with a temple which is to the Hindus a place of worship and pilgrimage, as Mecca is for the Mahomedans.

"The inhabitants are Musulmans and infidels; but the government is in the hands of the former."

The chief mosque is described as being near the temple.

At the time of Mahomed Ghori's death (1205 A. D.) Nasiruddin *Kubacha* was governor of Multan and Sindh. He had married the daughter of Kutbuddin, Emperor of Delhi. Strengthened by this alliance, Nasiruddin declared his independence in Sindh and Multan on the death of his patron, and caused public prayers to be read, and money coined, in his own name.

Shamsuddin Altamash, adopted son of the late King, invaded Multan in 1217, and defeated Nasiruddin, who was afterwards drowned in the Indus. By his defeat and death, the second independence of Multan under the Mahomedans came to an end, and Multan once more became subject to the Delhi Empire.

In 1396, A. D. Multan was invaded by Prince Pir Mahomed Jahangir, the grandson of Tamerlane. Sarang Khan, the Governor of Depalpur, who had declared his independence, expelling Khizr Khan, the Multan Governor, on behalf of Mahomed Toghlak, the reigning sovereign in Delhi, hearing of the approach of the Moghul prince, despatched Malik Tajuddin, his deputy, and the greater portion of his troops, to oppose the invading army. Pir Mahomed, hearing of this movement, advanced to the Bias, and, falling suddenly on the Multanis just as they were crossing the river, defeated and drove them into the stream, so that more perished by drowning than fell by the sword. Such of the fugitives as made good their retreat to Multan, were pursued by the Moghuls, who compelled Sarang Khan to shut himself up in the fort. The invading army laid siege to the fort, and the blockade lasted six months, until the besieged army, being reduced to extremities by want of provisions, surrendered at discretion, and Mirza Pir Mahomed took possession of Multan.*

For thirty-six years after the departure of Tamerlane, there was no kingdom in India, in name or in reality. Khizr Khan Syad, governed the kingdom, in the name of Tamerlane,

* Ferishta.

without sovereign title or royal honours. During the troubled reign of his grandson Syad Mahomed, an insurrection broke out in Multan among the Afghans called Langa, 1443, A.D.

The Delhi Emperor, sunk in licentiousness, totally neglected the affairs of his government; the whole empire fell to pieces and new monarchies sprang up in every direction. With no Governor or Viceroy to manage the affairs of the country, and weakened by internal commotion and disorder, as well as by foreign intrigue and aggressions, the people of Multan suffered bitterly from the anarchy and confusion that prevailed. In this state of things, they assembled to devise measures to restore order, and unanimously elected Sheik * Eusuf, the hereditary guardian of the great monastery near the capital, to be their ruler. The Sheikh belonged to the distinguished tribe of Koresh, and, according to the author of Tabakati Akbari, was held in universal esteem for his wisdom, learning and piety. Having assumed supreme power, he introduced measures of reform into the country, increased its military strength, and concluded peace with the neighbouring States, which frequently disturbed its peace. Among those who submitted to his authority was Rae Sahra, the chief of the Langas, who so flattered the venerable Sheikh, that he even gave him his daughter in marriage; and the nuptials were celebrated in Multan with great splendour. The Sheikh, however, in the guise of a friend, harboured designs of his own against Multan, and during an entertainment, having contrived to lull suspicion, seized the person of his son-in law, whom he sent to Delhi. Usurping thus the kingly power, he proclaimed himself king of Multan, under the title of Sultan Kutbuddin Langa, 1445. Sheik Eusuf became the guest of the Emperor Bahloli Lodi, but made no attempt to recover his lost kingdom.

Kutbuddin reigned in peace for sixteen years, and died in 1469, much lamented by his subjects.

He was succeeded by his son Husein Langa, a man of great learning and activity, who extended the dominions of Multan to the south and west.

During the eighty years that Multan was held by the Langa dynasty, it became the principal caravan route between India and Candahar, and commerce and agriculture flourished. All the lands on the banks of the Chenab and the Ghara, as well as some on the Indus, were richly cultivated, and the country was settled by bodies of Biluchees and Sahna Jains from the borders of Beluchistan and the emporium of Karachi.

In 1526, Shah Husein Arghun, at that time ruler of Sindh, seized Multan on behalf of Baber, who bestowed it on his son

* The Makhdums of Multan are his descendants.

Mirza Askeri. The Mirza, assisted by Langar Khan, one of the most powerful of the Amirs of Sultan Mahmud Langa, held possession of Multan during the rest of Baber's reign.

On Baber's death, Humayun found himself compelled to surrender Multan, along with the whole of the Punjab, to his eldest brother, Kamran Mirza. That Prince established his court at Lahore, and, sending his Amir to take charge of Multan, recalled Langar Khan to Lahore. He gave the Khan an honorable reception and assigned him a residence close to the city, which in subsequent times came to be known as "Guzar Langar Khan," or Langar Khan's quarters. *

During the confusion that followed the flight of Humayun to Persia, the kingdom of Multan was conquered by the Beluchees, under their chief Fatteh Khan. When Sher Shah *Sur* came into power, Fatteh Khan acknowledged him, but that monarch was desirous of assuming direct charge of the fertile province himself. He therefore deputed his General, Hebat Khan, at the head of an army to annex the territory to the Indian Empire. Fatteh Khan, collecting his troops, appeared on the field and gave the Mogul General battle, but was defeated, and Multan was captured for the Shah. Pleased with the services of Hebat Khan, the Shah conferred on him the title of Azim Humayun. †

Humayun was restored to the throne of India in 1555, and shortly afterwards, his son, the great Akbar, took possession of Multan. When Abul Fazl composed the celebrated "Aini Akbari," or the "Institutes of Akbar," Multan was one of the largest provinces of the Empire, extending to the frontiers of Persia, and including within its limits the modern countries of Multan, Beluchistan, Sindh, Shikarpore, Sewistan and Tatta, besides a portion of the Doabs now attached to Lahore. A royal mint for silver and copper coin was established there along with the mints at Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Illahabas* (Allahabad), Kashmir, Ujjein, Surat, Patna and Tanda. ‡ It was the seat of the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat, or the chief Kazi; and when the learned men of the time put their seal and signatures to the memorable document declaring Akbar to be the "*Imam i Adil*," or the "Just leader of the Faith," Kazi Jalaluddin of Multan, the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat of the time, put his seal to it. Khani A'zim Mirza Aziz, *Kokah*, or foster brother of Akbar, on becoming a member of the "Divine Faith," received Multan in jagir. He was son of Ji Ji Angah, the nurse of Akbar, with whom he had grown up. The Emperor was attached to him till his death, and used to say:—"Between me and Aziz there is a river of milk which I cannot cross."

* Tabakati Akbari. | † Tabakat and Tarikhi Nizam. | ‡ Aini Akbari.

The earliest mention of Multan by a European traveller which I have found, is in the travels of St. Thomas Herbert, Bart., in connection with the rebellion of Prince Khurram (afterwards Shah Jahan) in the time of the Emperor Jahangir, son of Akbar. The traveller writes:— "Jahangir (lest he should surfeit of delight) at Cashmir, entertains the news of his son Khurram's fresh outbreaking; as also of Ebrahim's death and discomfiture: and fearing his vagrant son might grow too popular and potent, rouses himself, and, after advice with his Council, forthwith commands Chan Jahan, out of Multhan and Buckarr (countries adjoining to Cabul), to raise a considerable force to hasten into Gujurat with the tribute of those provinces, to advance a new army, and join with Parwaz, that he might be better able to march against the rebels."*

The next mention of Multan which we find, is in the travels of Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, the celebrated French traveller and jewel merchant.

He travelled in India between 1641 and 1668, or during the reigns of Shah Jahán and Aurangzeb, and he had also traversed the land route from Isphahán to Agra, *viâ* Kandahar, Kabul, Lahore and Delhi. From Kandahar to Agra, the route lay either by Kabul or by Multan. The last route was shorter than the other by ten days, "but the caravan," observes Tavernier, "scarcely ever takes it, because from Kandahár to Multan there is nothing but deserts almost all the way, and because one marches sometime for three or four days without finding water." In his description of the town, the traveller says: "Multan is a town where quantities of calicoes are made, and they used to carry them all to Tatta, before the sands had obstructed the mouth of the river; but since the passage has been closed for large vessels, they carry them to Agra, and from Agra to Surat, as well as a portion of the goods which are made at Lahore. As this carriage is very expensive, but few merchants go to make investments either at Multan or Lahore, and indeed many of the artisans have deserted; this also causes the revenues of the king to be much diminished in these provinces. Multan is the place whence emigrate all *banians* who come to trade in Persia where they follow the same occupation as the Jews, as I have elsewhere said, and they surpass them in their usury. They have a special law which permits them on certain days to eat fowls, and to take only one wife between two or three brothers, of whom the eldest is regarded as the father of the children."†

* "Some years Travels into diverse parts of Africa and Asia the Great, describing more particularly the Empires of Asia and Hindustan." By St. Thomas Herbert, Bart., London 1677, A. D.

† Travels in India, by John Baptiste Tavernier, Vol. I. p. 90.

Multan was visited by another French traveller, M. de Thevenot, described by the historians as a "thoughtful observer," in 1666, the most prosperous period of the reign of Aurangzeb, who was then devising a scheme to entrap Sevaji, the celebrated Mahratta Prince. The "temple of the Sun" was still flourishing, and the faithful flocked round their great idol with costly presents from all parts of the country. The image was clothed in red leather and had a black face, the eyes being represented by two large pearls. This was, of course, before Aurangzeb had begun his work of persecuting the Hindus.

During the invasion of Nadir Shah (1738-39), Zahid Khan, a Saddozie Afghan, was appointed Viceroy of Multan through the influence of his friend Kamruddin Khan, the Minister of the Delhi Emperor, Mahomed Shah. Runjit Singh invaded Multan in 1818, when Mozaffar Khan, grandson of Zahid Khan, with five of his sons, fell in the battle field. Multan was conquered by the Sikhs, and remained in their possession until it was finally annexed by the British during the second Sikh war (1848-89). Mul Raj, the last Sikh Governor, son of the celebrated Dewan Sawan Mal, was tried by a British Court-martial on a charge of murder of Mr. Vans Agnew, Political Agent, and Lieutenant Anderson, his assistant, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to death; but the penalty was subsequently commuted to transportation for life. The rebel was accordinly sent to Calcutta, where he died the following year.

General Cunningham saw the ruins of the great Temple of the Sun in 1853, on the high ground in the very centre of the citadel, and he identified it with its position as stated by Istakhri, Ibn-i-Haukal and Idrisi. * The temple and the statue of the Sun were, according to the same authority, destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb, and the *Jama Masjid*, or cathedral mosque, was built in its stead. When the Sikhs came into power, they turned the mosque into a powder magazine, which was blown up in the celebrated seige of Multan in 1849. The temple of Pahladpuri, having reference to Prahládpura, or Pahládpur, from Prahláda the famous son of Kasyapa, still stands at the north-eastern angle of the fort, close to the tomb of Bahawal Hak. The original temple is said to have been built by Prahláda himself. The roof of the present *mandar* was blown up by the explosion of the powder magazine during the siege of 1849, and an annual fair is held round the temple in commemoration of the traditional anniversary of Nar Sinh, *avatar*.

M. L.

* Archæological Reports, 1872-73, page 119.

# THE QUARTER.

AMONG the political events of the past Quarter, the collapse of the Ministerial programme, the partition of Africa, and the insubordination of the Grenadier Guards stand out in bold relief. Of these three events, the last, perhaps, is the most important. While to the superficial observer it may appear to have been a mere ephemeral disturbance—a passing eddy in the current of affairs—, it is to be feared that it is really a symptom of virulent and deep seated disease. That the disorder in the Wellington Barracks was no isolated movement, nor yet a mere reflection of disorder prevailing elsewhere, but that, along with the strikes of the police and the postmen, it was the direct outcome of a propaganda with revolutionary objects in view and committed to anarchical methods, is something more than speculative inference. There is evidence, it is said, that the men were assiduously plied by emissaries of the propaganda, with appeals of an inflammatory and treasonable character, and the over-work of which they complained, though possibly real enough, was, there is reason to think, the occasion, rather than the cause of their mutinous display. Perhaps the most ominous feature in connection with the affair is the fresh evidence it has elicited, not of the extent and unscrupulous character of this conspiracy against the existing social order, but of the general prevalence throughout the country of a tendency to palliate acts, and acquiesce in theories of conduct, which lead by a straight and broad road to the disintegration of society itself.

The War Office, if in a somewhat blundering way, marked its sense of the necessity of vindicating discipline by the infliction of severe, but far from excessive, punishment. Thereupon a cry goes up on all sides that the men have been hardly, if not unjustly, treated. If this outcry were confined to socialists and faddists, it would be inconvenient, rather than dangerous. But there is no doubt that it expresses the sincere convictions of the average British citizen, who, owing partly to a morbid development of the same pseudo-humanitarianism which, *inter alia*, has abolished corporal punishment in the army and in schools, and which shrinks from the idea of the extraction of a tooth without chloroform, and partly to the recent uplifting

of the uninstructed masses into the plane of articulate discussion, has come to contemplate the wholesome and necessary old world ideals of discipline with a sense of repulsion.

We have said that the punishment inflicted on the Guards was far from excessive. As a matter of fact, we doubt whether it was as drastic as the circumstances of the hour required. At the same time it strikes us as unfortunate that it should have been ostentatiously vicarious. There is a certain rough justice, it may be, in punishing an old man more severely than a young one, for the same offence; for not only does experience enhance the guilt of the offender, but there is a presumption that the older man is more hardened, and therefore requires more severe correction to produce the same result. There is, also, a principle in the army that the oldest men are responsible for the discipline of the barrack room, though, under existing circumstances, it is to be feared that it is very much of a fiction. But vicarious punishment of this kind is open to two serious objections. It exercises little or no deterrent influence, and, what is even more important, it excites a strong sense of injustice in the mind both of the sufferer and of the spectator. A matter of still greater regret is the fact that the agitators who incited the Guards to mutiny, and who are guiltier than the soldiers themselves, should have escaped the punishment they deserved.

This event, and others similar to it, which have occurred both before and subsequently, must create very grave doubts in the minds of thoughtful men, whether the short service system is not fraught with serious peril to the country, both as failing to provide efficient guarantees for discipline in the army, and as favouring a dangerous degree of solidarity between the rank and file and the worst section of the lower orders of the people.

Along with the insubordination of the Grenadier Guards, the strikes of the police and postal employés naturally call for notice. In both cases, no doubt, there were some grievances to be redressed. In both cases there was, probably, the same connection, as in that of the Guards, between the acts of the men and the disruptive forces at work around them. In neither case did the grievances which existed in any way justify the extreme course adopted to secure redress. In the case of both services, the special privileges enjoyed by the men imply corresponding obligations, and the function performed by them in the social life of the country not merely justifies, but necessitates the imposition of a special disciplinary regime, and special limitations of the personal liberty of the members. In the case of the police there is too much reason to fear that Mr. Monro allowed his natural sympathy with his subordinates to degenerate into a dangerous display of partisanship.

It would, perhaps, be too much to hope that the fact, which it is impossible to disguise, that the country has been on the verge of a social cataclysm, will recall the order-loving section of the public, who are after all a large majority of the whole, to a sense of the suicidal folly of the new doctrine, that disobedience to authority is a legitimate mode of promoting even a just cause.

One cannot help feeling that the fiasco made by the Government in the Parliamentary Session which ended on 18th August, is inadequately explained by the known facts. The proximate causes of the wreck of the Ministerial programme are obvious enough; but it is difficult to understand the complete want either of foresight, or of discipline, which those causes indicate. It is easy to see that, by obstinately adhering to the licensing clauses of the Local Taxation Bill in the face of an opposition which they were powerless to silence, till the best part of the session was spent, the Government destroyed whatever chance there was of passing other more important Bills. It is not so easy to understand the miscalculation, or the temerity, which led to their introduction of the clauses in the first instance, or their failure to grasp, in time, the real character of a situation which was patent to every one outside the Cabinet. Still less easy is it to understand their inability to know their own mind, in this and other matters, from one day to another. It is not enough for Mr. Goschen to say that, though he foresaw obstruction by the regular Opposition, he did not reckon on the hostile attitude of the temperance party. For the views and feelings of the temperance party must have been pretty widely known; and, if Mr. Goschen is blind and deaf, there must surely be others in the Cabinet who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

It is not easy, again, to understand how ministers, in spite of the failure of previous similar attempts, came, not merely to introduce the hanging up clause with a light heart, but, if Mr. Smith may be taken as speaking their mind, to treat its acceptance by the House as a foregone conclusion. A similar remark applies to the fatal regularity with which the abandonment of one Bill after another was immediately preceded by a declaration on the part of Mr. W. H. Smith, of the unalterable determination of the Government to pass it. Either, it would seem, the Government were unable to see an inch before them, or they were determined to leave no stone unturned to make their failure as humiliating as possible.

The impression produced by a survey of the events of the session is that, either the Cabinet was, for the greater part of the time, virtually without a responsible head, or, for some reason or other, it was found desirable to compass the death

of the Land Purchase Bill without appearing deliberately to abandon it. The proceedings of the coming session may not impossibly throw some light on the failure of the past. In the meantime, there are not wanting indications of an approaching change in the Irish policy of the Government.

Nothing could well have been more damaging to the future prospects of the Conservatives than the miscarriage of the licensing proposals. By leaving the matter alone they would not have lost a single vote; for, while there was ample ground for such a course in the pressing necessity for passing other measures, it would have kept alive the hopes of the Licensed Victuallers. As it is, the Goverment, it is to be feared, have irretrievably alienated that powerful body; though there are those who hold a contrary opinion.

In connection with the proposal for suspending Bills from session to session, it may be added that the Select Committee appointed to consider it never presented any Report, the Government having suddenly withdrawn the proposal when they were on the eve of doing so. It is noteworthy, however, that the Report which was to have been presented, contained the following paragraph, inserted on the motion of Sir William Harcourt: "Your Committee deem it right and necessary to record their opinion, that any claim or attempt by either House of Parliament by its own authority, by Standing Order or otherwise, to postpone to a future session of Parliament any Bill sent to it by the other House of Parliament, would be a breach of the constitutional usage of Parliament."

This had reference to the possibility, the existence of which was admitted by the Government majority, that the House of Lords might adopt a similar Standing Order, and avail themselves of it to suspend Bills originating in the Commons, thus bringing into play a dangerously obstructive power.

In the above estimate of the way in which the Government have managed their Parliamentary business, it may be said, we have taken no account of the obstructive tactics of the Opposition. That these tactics were carried to an extent unprecedented even in recent Parliamentary history, and that they were the immediate cause of the break-down, is indubitable; and it is also highly probable that they would have been employed with equal pertinacity and with a similar result, whatever might have been the substantive programme of the Government. This fact, however, so far from operating to mitigate the blame due to the Government for its blunders, makes them all the more inexcusable. The Government knew, or ought to have known, what it had to expect, and the prospect furnished a powerful argument for simplifying its programme as much as possible, and concentrating all its efforts upon the

passing of a few measures of paramount importance. More than this, finding the Opposition banded together for the express purpose of paralysing the machinery of legislation, its first duty plainly was to take steps to frustrate their object by dealing with obstruction itself. Looking at the large, compact, and determined majority with which it commenced the session, it seems clear that, if it was not strong enough to do this, neither it nor any other Government ever will be strong enough to do it, which would be a bad look out for the country.

The legislative work of the Session comprises the Companies Winding-up Act, the Bankruptcy Amendment, Allotments, Housing of the Working Classes, Public Health Amendment, and Directors Liability Acts, the last, a private measure, and the Western Australia and Gession of Heligoland Acts, besides some measures of minor moment. Among the more important of the measures that have been sacrificed, are the Land Purchase, Irish Local Government, Tithes Collection and Redemption, Land Transfer, Scotch Private Bill Procedure, Employers Liability, Electoral Disabilities Removal, Savings Bank, and India Councils Bills.

It is pleasant to turn from this picture of ill digested purpose, pitiable vacillation, and almost unredeemed failure, to the really brilliant achievements of the Government in the domain of foreign politics.

It is easy to pick holes in the Anglo-German agreement and its corollaries, the agreements with France and Portugal, if the subject is approached in a petty spirit. But if ever there was a matter which claimed to be viewed generously and comprehensively, it is this,—of the partition of Africa. The chief thing to be borne in mind, it seems to us, is that the acquisition, or retention of a few thousand square miles, more or less, of practically boundless territories, is a matter of infinitely less importance than the establishment of a harmonious understanding, and the removal, humanly speaking, for all time, of every ground of dispute between the Great Powers concerned. With people—and they exist—who think that England has a prescriptive right to all the territories in the world not already occupied by other civilised Powers, and who cannot see another nation plant its flag in any unoccupied place without experiencing a pang of jealousy and a sense of lost opportunity, there is no arguing. In the view of such people Africa, of course, ought not to have been partitioned at all. But we do not think that anyone who admits that enough is as good as a feast, can look first at what England already had elsewhere in the way of colonial possessions and dependencies, and then at what the Anglo-German agreement secures her in Africa, and

feel that we have any reason for repining at what that and the other agreements secure to our neighbours. Nor, again, do we see how any one can reflect on the vastness of the work to be done in Africa, without feeling that it is a great gain to the cause of humanity, that there should be many labourers in the field, each with such well defined and assured rights as to furnish him with the strongest possible encouragement to spend energy and capital freely on the task before him.

Of the four great water-ways of Africa—the Nile, the Niger, the Congo and the Zambesi—England has secured the possession of three, *viz.*, the whole of the Nile basin, from the lakes to the Egyptian frontier; about 2,000 miles of the Zambesi, and the whole of the Niger, besides the freedom of the fourth—the Congo,—in common with other nations. In addition to this, she gets about half the coast line of Lake Victoria; the west and south shores of Lake Nyassa; the south shore of Lake Tanganyika, together with free trading powers over the whole lake, and exclusive trading rights over Lakes Albert and Ngami. Turning from the waterways to the dry land, England gets the most important indigenous empire in Africa, *viz.*, Uganda, with an area of 70,000 square miles and a population of five millions; the district of Ruanda, not less populous, and containing an extensive, lofty, and well watered plateau, suitable for colonisation by Europeans, and the immense and fertile district of Unyoro, abounding in cattle and mineral wealth. Then, in addition to the protectorate of Zanzibar, which, it may be said, she already virtually possessed, she gets the coast line from Wanga to the mouth of the Juba, including Mombassa and a number of other safe and commodious harbours.

In Western Africa, where her supremacy in the rich Niger territories was previously recognised, she obtains the recognition of her exclusive right in further large tracts of country—among them that known as the Oil Rivers region. In the south, again, she has secured the whole of Livingstonia, or Zambesia, extending from the south shore of Lake Tanganyika, by Lake Nyassa, across the Zambesi, and through Mashona and Matabele, the latter country alone having an area of a hundred thousand square miles and being rich in gold. This region, it should be noted, includes the territory settled by the African Lakes Company.

South of Zambesia, we may remind our readers, all the rest of Africa, except German Namaqua Land, a comparatively barren tract, the coast line of Delagoa Bay, and the South African Republics, belongs to England. The territories secured to Germany, on the other hand, though vast in extent, are for the most part barren. In exchange for the relinquishment to England of the important territory of Witu, she gets

the island of Heligoland, which, though not without value to her, for sentimental and strategical reasons, is, from every point of view, either useless, or worse than useless, to us.

The consent of France being required to the arrangement regarding Zanzibar, it became necessary to arrive at an understanding with that Power. This has been done by recognizing the position which was already hers *de facto* in Madagascar, by undertaking not to extend our influence on the Niger to the north of Say, and by giving her a free hand in all the territory from the Niger to the north of Say, and of a line from that place to Lake Tchad. One great advantage which we may expect to reap from this arrangement, which involves no material concession on our part, is that France will be less disposed to quarrel about our position in Egypt, which may be regarded as practically permanent.

By the convention with Portugal the south-eastern and southern shores of the Nyassa, the Shiré Highlands, Blantyre, and the surrounding territory are left to England, and a territory for ten miles round Zumbo on the north bank of the Zambesi is assigned to Portugal. Each of the contracting parties is to have a free way to its territories across the territories of the other. The Zambesi and its affluents are to be free to the flags of all nations, and all waterways in the territory treated of in the Convention, are to be free to both England and Portugal. The Portuguese transit duties on goods passing through their East African sphere of influence are not to exceed 3 per cent.

Portuguese pretensions west of the Nyassa, which were extensive, are thus completely disposed of, while on the east of the Nyassa there is a slight concession to Portugal of territory claimed as within the sphere of the University Missions.

In connection with the partition of Africa, it may be added that the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference has resulted in the agreement, subject to ratification of all the Powers concerned, except Holland, to a general Act, the principal terms of which are that—"Throughout that part of Africa comprised between parallels of latitude 20 north and 22 south, importation of fire-arms and ammunition is prohibited except under conditions laid down by the General Act. All arms imported are to be warehoused under the supervision of the State, and none are to be issued for sale, except flint lock guns with unrifled barrels and common gunpowders, and no sales may be effected in regions where slave traffic exists. With reference to the sea-borne slave trade, it is agreed that officers in command of war vessels of any of the Signatory Powers, may proceed to the verification of the papers of any vessel of less than 500 tons, if they suspect her of slave trading or of fraudulent use of a flag. An

international office is to be instituted at Zanzibar, where all information relative to the suppression of the nefarious trade may be received, and whence it will be transmitted to a special office attached to the Foreign Office in Brussels. The manufacture or importation of distilled liquors is prohibited in such districts of the aforesaid zone where the use of such liquors does not now exist, or has not been developed, and regulations are laid down regarding the liquor traffic in other districts. Other provisions deal with the freeing of slaves and the protection of those who have been liberated."

The passing of the American Silver Bill, which came into operation on 13th August, has resulted in an economic revolution which, however ephemeral it may prove, must, as long as the Bill remains in force, be productive of far-reaching and most important consequences, and is destined to leave a lasting mark upon the world's affairs.

The Act required the Treasury of the United States to purchase monthly 4,500,000 ounces of silver at the market price of the day, provided this does not exceed one dollar for 371¼ grs. of the pure metal, and to issue, in payment for the same, certificates which shall be legal tender in discharge of all debts, public and private, except when it is otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and redeemable on demand, in gold or silver coin, at its discretion.

The limit of one dollar for 371¼ grs. of pure silver, it may be noted, is about equivalent to a price of 58½*d.* per ounce.

The immediate effect of the measure has been to raise the gold price of silver more than twenty per cent., the price now standing at 53⅝*d.* per ounce, compared with 43½*d.* at the close of last year. The result, it need scarcely be said, has been an extensive redistribution of purchasing power, and a dislocation of economic relations over a great part of the world. In India the benefit to the Government and other recipients of incomes nominally fixed in silver, who have gold payments to make, or who are consumers of goods priced in gold, has been great and immediate, though, in the case of the Government, this benefit has been attended by a drawback in the shape of diminished railway receipts due to the disturbance of trade.

In explaining the Indian Budget in the Committee of the House of Commons on the 14th ultimo, Sir John Gorst estimated the gross gain to the revenue at Rx. 2,160,000, and the net gain at Rx. 1,600,000. These figures, however, were arrived at on the basis of an average rate of exchange of 1*s.* 6½*d.* for the year, which will probably be exceeded by at least 1*d.*, adding nearly another crore of Rupees to the revenue, so that we may look for a surplus of between 2½ and 3 crores.

The effect of the rise in exchange upon local values will, of course, be more gradual, though, as far as regards produce raised, or articles manufactured for export, the continuation of trade is clearly conditional on a reduction in prices corresponding to the rise in the gold value of the rupee.

The instant result of the rise in exchange has been to paralyse, for the moment, both the export and the import trades, the former owing to the fact that buyers can no longer afford to pay current prices, which are merely a survival of former rates of exchange, and the latter, partly because buyers find their means of purchasing curtailed owing to the deadlock in the export trade, and partly because they are holding off in the confident expectation of a heavy fall in prices in the near future.

To holders of export produce purchased, or contracted for, at prices corresponding to the old rates of exchange, the result is, of course, very serious; though fortunately the force of the blow has been materially broken by the fact that the passing of the Bill was to some extent discounted, exchange having begun to rise long before the measure actually became law. Importers, too, who hold large stocks, bought when exchange was low, run the risk of being undersold by rivals not so burdened, and retail traders are likely to find themselves severely handicapped from this cause, in competing with the new co-operative stores, or other fresh arrivals in the field.

From the point of view of the interests of the American people, the new Act is one of the most extraordinary measures ever passed by an ostensibly national legislature. It means simply that the owners of the silver mines, with the aid of others specially interested in an inflation of prices, have succeeded, partly in persuading, partly in coercing, the representatives of the American people to compel the country to take their wares, whether they want them or not, at from 20 to 25 per cent. above their real value, the loss not, of course, falling on the Treasury, or on any particular individuals, but gradually distributing itself throughout the general body of consumers in the shape of a rise in the prices of commodities.

It might, perhaps, be supposed that, as the gold price of silver has been simultaneously raised throughout the world, the Americans would be able to recoup themselves at the expense of their neighbours. It would be easy, however, if this were a convenient place for the purpose to show that such is not the case. The fact is, the rise in the price of silver elsewhere is due entirely to the locking up of the metal by the American Treasury. The moment the Treasury began to unload, it would be succeeded by an even greater fall. The long and the short of the matter is that the American people,

under compulsion, and to a large extent, perhaps, unconsciously, are feeding the silver proprietors with the fat of the land in exchange for a metal for which they have no use; which consequently they are compelled to go on piling up in the State vaults, and of which they can never, humanly speaking, get rid except at an enormous sacrifice.

The passing of the Silver Bill, perhaps, has had something to do with the amiable way in which the claims of the Uncovenanted Services have been dealt with by the Secretary of State. If so, those Services may fairly boast that they have been benefited by the measure to an extent vouchsafed to no other class of the community; for while, in the case of the other recipients of rupee salaries, it is morally certain that the relief afforded will be merely temporary, in their case, on the contrary, it is to be permanent. For the moment they may, perhaps, be inclined to think that being thankful for a 1*s.* 9*d.* guarantee, is being thankful for nothing, or at all events for very little. But this would be a great mistake. The probability is that, before many years are over, they will discover the boon to be a much greater one than it would have seemed even a year ago, with the rupee only a fraction over 1*s.* 4*d.*

As regards grievances other than those connected with the rate of exchange, the fate of the Services still rests very much on the good will of the Government of India, though, no doubt, something will be done to meet the recommendations of the Committee. These are that some period of furlough shall count as service, and that pensionable service shall commence at the age of twenty. The points, thus dealt with form only a small portion of the case submitted by the Services; but the Government of India successfully protested against any interference in matters connected with promotion, rank, and the like, some of which are of very great importance.

The Committee went out of their way to enunciate a principle which finds no justification either in history or in reason. They recommended that no distinction should be made as regards furlough or pension rules between Europeans and natives. Furlough, however, is a description of leave instituted with special reference to the needs of men serving in a distant foreign country, whose health and family and social relations require them, from time to time, to visit the land of their birth. To natives of India, serving in India, it is plainly inapplicable. As regards pension rules, too, it stands to reason that Europeans serving in a tropical climate, are in a position totally different from that occupied by men serving in their own country.

The literary event of the Quarter, aways a dull one in this department, has been the publication of Stanley's book, "In

# POSTSCRIPT.

A PROFOUNDLY painful impression has been created in the public mind by the result of the Chartered Bank case, in which Babu Shama Churn Sen, the cashier, stood committed to the High Court on a charge of embezzlement of three lakhs of the Bank's money, and which terminated, on the 20th instant, in a verdict of acquittal. It is felt not merely that there has been a miscarriage of justice of an aggravated kind, but that the failure is due to causes which cast the gravest doubt on the adequacy of the arrangements for its administration in the High Court of Calcutta in its Original Jurisdiction. In short, it is not too much to say that public confidence in that tribunal has sustained a shock from which, in the absence of radical changes in its constitution, it will not easily recover.

To the lay mind the broad facts of the case seem simple enough. An extensive deficiency is discovered in the cash balances of the Bank, the only obvious explanation of which is, that the defendant has appropriated the money. Being called upon to account for the missing funds, the defendant confesses, first to having misappropriated, on a particular occasion, the specific sum which formed the subject of the indictment, and subsequently, to a series of misappropriations aggregating twelve lakhs of rupees. After some delay, during which abortive negociations appear to have been carried on between the Bank and the defendant for the restitution of a portion of the money, the prosecution is instituted. When the case comes on for trial, it is found that the prosecution depend mainly on the confession; at all events, they offer no independent evidence of the misappropriation of any specific sum on a particular date.

The case turns essentially on three points, *viz.*, whether the confession is admissible; whether, supposing it admissible, independent evidence of the misappropriation is necessary; whether, in order to establish embezzlement, it is necessary to prove the misappropriation of a certain definite sum on a particular occasion. On each of these points the Judge directs the jury in the affirmative. In other words, the Judge rules that, when a person entrusted with the custody of his employer's money, admits having converted it to his own use, then in order that he may be convicted of embezzlement, it is necessary to prove, by independent evidence, not merely his fiduciary position, his receipt of the money, and the occurrence of the deficiency, but also the date and hour on which some specific sum was misappropriated, and this, notwithstanding that these particulars form part of the confession. Such a ruling reads like a parody of the law, and a parody of the law it is generally considered to be.

The manner in which the case for the prosecution was conducted is the subject of hardly less general, or less intense dissatisfaction than the ruling of the Judge, though, as counsel cannot go beyond his brief, it is perhaps not so easy to determine on whose shoulders the blame should be laid. What is felt is that, in resting their case so exclusively on the confession, the prosecution adopted a course as much opposed to prudence as to ordinary practice. It is true, the prosecution could not be expected to foresee the mess the Judge would make of the law. But there was another issue, apart from that concerning the character of the proof required to establish the offence, which might reasonably have been considered doubtful. Where, it may be asked, would the prosecution have been had the Judge ruled that the confession was inadmissible? That, knowing this issue to be inevitable, the prosecution should have brought their case without being prepared to produce a tittle of evidence on such essential points as items and dates, is simply astounding.

*September 29th*, 1890. J. W. F.

Darkest Africa." The value of the work consists wholly in what it describes, as distinguished from the manner in which it is described, and from that point of view it may fairly take its place in the front rank of records of travel and discovery.

In India the period under review has been more than usually uneventful. The deadlock in trade, brought about by the rapid rise in the exchange value of the rupee, has been already referred to. The phenomenon is essentially of a temporary character; when once exchange has fairly settled down, prices will rapidly adjust themselves to the new equivalence between the two metals, though the adjustment, as in all such cases, must needs be attended by heavy individual losses.

The last three weeks have been marked by the development of a sudden mania for speculation in gold shares of problematical value, representing mining rights in properties in Chota Nagpore, in some of which, it is claimed, the precious metal has been actually discovered, while in others its existence is only a matter of inference. Prices in the case of on of the Companies have reached a premium of sixteen or seventeen hundred per cent. on their capital value, and large sums of money are said to have changed hands. The excitement, however, which has extended to the native bazar, and even to the North-West Provinces, already shows signs of abating; and the shares of most of the Companies will probably be procurable at a discount long before mining operations commence, if they ever do commence, on a practical scale.

The distribution of the monsoon in Upper India has been sufficiently abnormal to render the present season memorable in the annals of Indian meteorology. Throughout the greater portion of the outer Himalayan and Sub Himalayan region, the rainfall has been heavy beyond precedent, and communications in many parts have been seriously interfered with by landslips and floods. The worst interruption has been that which occurred on the Darjiling line, where through traffic was suspended for several weeks. Heavy inundations have taken place in various parts of the country, especially in the districts of Ballia, Moorshidabad, Nuddea and Jessore, and the Bengal Central railway line has been badly breached. So far, it does not appear that serious loss of life has occurred; but the damage to crops, cattle and houses has been immense.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the names of Cardinal Newman and Canon Liddon.

J. W. F

*The 10th September* 1890.

# SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

## *Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies.*

FROM the local Government's Review of the Panjab Civil Justice Administration Report for 1889, we quote para. 5 :—

Sir James Lyall notices with satisfaction that the experiment of appointing Registrars to the District Courts of Small Causes, and investing them with powers to try small cause suits up to the value of Rs. 10, has proved so successful. With reference to the further suggestion that the Judges of Small Cause Courts should, in turn, assist District Judges in their original civil work, it may here be noted, although not strictly belonging to the proceedings of the year under review, that the Judge of the Small Cause Court at Amritsar has recently been invested with the powers of a Sub-Judge, 2nd Grade, and that the Lieutenant-Governor awaits the proposals of the Judges of the Chief Court for the investment of the Small Cause Court Judges of other districts with similar powers. In view of the recent orders of the Government of India on the subject of assimilating the law of appeal in the Punjab to that elsewhere in India, the Lieutenant-Governor has found it necessary to reconsider the conclusions expressed in paragraph 5 of the Review of last year regarding the extension of Small Cause Court powers in the Province, and the Judges have been separately addressed on this subject.

## *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab. For the Agricultural year 1st October 1888, to 30th September 1889.*

IN his Resolution on the Land Revenue Administration Report of the Panjab for the agricultural year, 1st October 1888, to 30th September 1889, Sir James Lyall notices an increase of sugarcane cultivation on unirrigated lands, and a sudden expansion of the area put under indigo; both phenomena indicative, probably, of more moisture than the Meteorological Department, conscious only of abnormal irregularity in rainfall statistics, was aware of. In another part of the Resolution, we are told! "The statistics of transfers by order of Court are no doubt not reliable as such." When *will* the Anglo-Indian official mind realize the fact, that the crude lumps of figures which Amla of sorts manufacture for its use are never "reliable"; but misleading and mischievous as far as in them lies so to be? At the close of September 1889, there were in the Panjab 32 unpassed Kanungos

out of a total of 365, and 617 unpassed Putwaris out of a total of 1928. The Lieutenant-Goveror considers these results decidedly satisfactory on the whole. He is, however, glad to see that efforts are being made to enlist members of the agricultural classes as putwaris.

The number of mutations attested during the year was 6,42,000, or 57,000 more than in the previous twelve months :—

The total area of mutations by mortgage recorded during 1888 89 was considerably less than that recorded in either 1887 88, or 1886-87, and the total area of mutations by sale was less than that recorded in the former of these years, the cultivated area being less than that recorded in the latter year as well. Nevertheless, an area of 7,18 000 acres, of which 486,000 were cultivated, was recorded during the year as transferred by mortgage, and an area of 483,000 acres, 198 000 acres being cultivated, was entered in the annual papers as sold.

The demand for the year on account of fixed land revenue was Rs. 2,01,89 000, of which 99·1 per cent. was collected. It is considered satisfactory that there are no longer any outstanding balances in the Gurgaon and Montgomery Districts, which at one time showed a very large amount of arrears. Sir James Lyall fully concurs in the remarks which the Financial Commissioner has recorded regarding the excellent work done by Mr. Maconachie in the Gurgaon District. The system of survey to be followed in future settlements of the Punjab is now being finally settled, we are told ; and when this has been done, drawbacks experienced in starting work will, it is hoped, be removed. The year was marked, "as was anticipated," by a large increase of litigation between landlords and occupancy tenants. In the Punjab, as elsewhere, *il faut souffrir pour etre belle.*

In the matter of loans to agriculturists, we are glad to note that the amount overdue for repayment is not large. Also that anticipation of enhancement of land revenue at the impending re-assessment of districts does not seem to have any effect on the development of those districts by means of agricultural improvements A propos, his Honor "would be glad to learn how it has come to pass that most of the oxen bought by means of Government loans in the Kohát District have since died."

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*Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal ; for the year* 1889.

THE Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal prefaces his Report for 1889 as follows :—

The last Census of Bengal was taken in 1881 and disclosed a population of 65,859,534. This figure has since been taken as the basis of all calculations in the Annual Sanitary Reports of this Province. There is no doubt, however, that the population of Bengal is now greater than it was

in 1881, but there is some difficulty in estimating how much greater it is. A fairly accurate method of doing so (*if registration could be depended on*) would be by adding to the census figures of 1881 the number by which the births since then have exceeded the deaths and the excess of immigration over emigration; but in Bengal this method of calculation cannot be adopted, as, under present arrangements, births are only registered in towns and are not registered in rural areas. The English method of estimating population in intercensal years is to assume that the rate of increase which obtained in the interval between the last two enumerations has been maintained in the succeeding years, and it appears that the Registrar-General of England has found this method to be trustworthy. On this principle the population of Bengal may now be estimated at 74,482,274.

The italics are ours. There is as much virtue nowadays in a judicious "if" as ever there was. In view of the coming census, might not Dr. Gregg's contribution to it have just as well been deferred to a more convenient season, one is tempted to ask. After giving a tabular statement of birth registrations, he refers to the "ridiculously low birth-rate" returned from sundry towns last year, and says: "This year again the figures returned from these towns are palpably inaccurate; and so, but in a lesser degree, are all the figures returned from all the towns shown on the very defective results column of the above statement:—" Such towns for instance, as Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Assensole—and the south suburban part of the 24-Pergunnahs. When in green trees only very defective results are obtainable, what is expected from dry ones, we wonder. Such statistics, strike us as being worse than useless.

About the death rate, &c., we are told:—

Number Registered.

The total number of deaths registered in Bengal during 1889, not including 41,994 still-births, amounted to 1 597,478, against 1,515,735 in 1888, and an average of 1,470,558 in the five years 1884—88. These figures correspond to annual death-rates of 24·25, 22·94, and 22·32 respectively. It will be observed that the death rate of 1889 was in excess of both the past periods with which it is compared, but as the year under review was not, in the opinion of the local medical officers, a more unhealthy one on the whole than 1888. the higher death rate can only be ascribed to better registration. But if the population of Bengal be estimated at 74,482.274, the death-rate for 1889 would be 21·44. Of the 1.597,478 deaths registered in 1889, 856 573 were males and 740 904 females, the former being to the latter in the proportion of 1,175 to 1,000 against 1,164 in the proceeding year.

Almost every District Medical Officer appears to have paid much attention to cholera. In many cases, at great personal inconvenience and risk to themselves, they visited the places where it prevailed most severely. Their Reports do not, however, cast any new light on the etiology of the disease.

*Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums of Bengal.* For the year 1889.

"ALTHOUGH the criminal population of the Asylums has been rising more or less in the past six years in all parts of India, except in the North-Western Provinces, the increase in Bengal has reached a magnitude not yet attained elsewhere;" and is increasing, and bids fair to go on increasing to a parlous extent. That appears to be the most important information derivable from the Annual Reports on Lunatic Asylums in Bengal for 1889. Dr. Hilson suggests that in Bengal there may exist greater facilities than in other parts of India for successfully pleading insanity in order to escape punishment for crime. "If," he writes, "Magistrates and committing officers in one province are in the habit of sending to an asylum all lunatics charged with some petty theft or trespass, while such persons in another province are made over to the care of their friends, it is obvious that the statistics of lunacy in two provinces will be considerably affected thereby, or if such cases, when admitted into asylums, are detained for three months in one province and for three years in another, there can be little doubt that the difference in the period of confinement will have a very appreciable effect in increasing or diminishing the criminal population as the case may be."

Here is another quotation illustrative of the uses of statistics, and science, and professional jealousies :—

18. STATEMENT VI OF THE APPENDIX.—*Types of Insanity.*—It will be noticed that the new nomenclature of mental diseases, as given by the College of Physicians of London, has been followed in this return, but it has failed to secure uniformity of classification at the various asylums; for while a considerable number of cases of toxic insanity are entered as having occurred at Patna, Dacca, Cuttack and Berhampore, there are none at Dullunda. Their absence from this institution can only be accounted for by the peculiarity of the individual views held by the Superintendent regarding the nature and cause of this form of insanity, and until we possess some arbitrary and clear definition of all the types of mental disease, it will be impossible to have any approach to uniformity at the different asylums so far as the entries in this return are concerned. This subject was referred to in my report of last year, and need not occupy further attention.

19. STATEMENT VII OF THE APPENDIX.—*Causes of Insanity.*—Although much reliance cannot usually be placed on the causes assigned for the mental diseases of a large proportion of the inmates of the asylums, there can be no question that the use of ganja or other preparation of Indian hemp is by far the most fruitful cause of admissions throughout India. There is a general consensus of opinion on this point, and during the past year no less than 66 admissions, or 26·72 per cent., of the total number were due to this cause alone. The next most potent cause is spirit drinking, which accounts for 7·69 per cent., while the use of opium seems to give rise to comparatively little insanity in the community, although the habit is admittedly prevalent. It is unnecessary to say anything regarding

the moral causes of insanity which are so numerous, and in many instances so fanciful as to render serious criticism impossible.

Para. 46 of the Report, we observe, declares explicitly that the Bhowanipore Asylum "contains European and Eurasian patients only;" para. 47 (on the same page) informs us that amongst the year's admissions at Bhowanipore "one was a native nobleman."

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*Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums in the Punjab.* For the year 1889.

THE Punjab Government, minuting on the annual report on its Lunatic Asylums for 1889, pronounces the percentage of cures at Delhi (20·7) satisfactory, that for Lahore (8·7) not so. As usual, Indian hemp is set down as the most fertile predisposing cause of lunacy.

The health of inmates of the Delhi Asylum was fairly good; that of those housed in Lahore better on the whole than it was in 1889, though the mortality was greater. Sir James Lyall thinks it might be advisable to transfer the charge of the Lahore Asylum from a Civil Surgeon with too much work on his hands to one of the Professors of the Medical College, with (presumably) too little. It is written:—

It is again brought to notice that the building in which the patients are accommodated is unsuited for the purposes of a lunatic asylum. There seems to be nothing objectionable on sanitary grounds in the nature of the site or of the buildings, though no doubt the European residents of the neighbourhood would like to see the Asylum removed to a distance. The objections seems to lie chiefly in defective arrangements for the classification of patients and for the separation of dangerous from harmless lunatics.

The conduct of the subordinate establishment at both asylums is censured. A madman at Lahore managed to suicide himself with no more elaborate machinery at his command than the hinge of a door for gallows and a pyjama string for a noose; a warder being on duty at the time in the room in which the man released himself from the burden of life.

*Annual Report of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal, for the year* 1888-89.

FROM the Report of the Etcetera Department for 1888-89, we glean that the inferences deducible from Mr. N. N. Banerjee's experiments à la Pasteur are—

(1) Bengal animals are susceptible to the disease.

(2) Vaccination according to Pasteur's system is likely to be successful.

But, as Mr. Banerjee points out, vaccination is justified only where animals die from anthrax in large numbers. So far as is known at present,

this disease prevails, if it prevails at all, only in isolated tracts in Bengal. Promiscuous vaccination, if introduced, is likely to help in spreading the germ over the country, and unless and until it is established beyond doubt that the anthrax of Europe prevails, and that too to a large extent, in India, extreme caution should be exercised in introducing the virus.

Mr. Abbott, of Jaintpore, reports that merino rams supplied to him will not herd with native ewes. Baboo Bhagawat Dyal Singh reports that the ram supplied to him was kept with a flock of country ewes, two of which produced young—lambs that "appear to be very fine."

The Seebpore wrought-iron soil-inverting plough is very favourably reported on by Mr. J. Crowdy of Durbhunga, who writes :—

"I consider the Seebpore wrought iron plough the lightest and cheapest plough out. I had over 30 working last year, and I mean to have 100 more this year, and do away with native ploughs as much as possible, as they do little more than scratch the surface ; besides the Seebpore plough is the only one which I have been able to get the natives to work for me which they do willingly, as they have found they are not a bit heavier to draw than their own, and in fact are constantly borrowing them for their own use ; and if it was not that natives prefer borrowing to buying, I am sure in *these* parts they would be generally used."

Neither Seebpore nor other improved ploughs find favour with cultivators, Mr. Finucane says. They object to the Seebpore compromise, that it is too heavy for country bullocks, and that country blacksmiths cannot repair it when once out of order. Some day, perhaps, the Department will find out that they do not believe in, and do not want any approach to, the deep ploughing which is the cardinal article of faith at Cirencester.

*Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the year 1888-89.*

FROM the Progress Report of Forest Administration in Bengal for the year 1888-89, we gather that there was an increase to reserves of 1,154 acres, the total area on 31st March 1889 being 3,192,535 acres.

The points chiefly noticeable in the Report are progressive increase of revenue in the Sunderbuns, depression of forest trade in Chittagong, consequent on frontier raids, fallings off of revenue in Orissa, owing to concessions made to villagers menaced with famine.

*Reports of the Alipore and Hazaribagh Reformatory Schools for the year 1889.*

WE are glad to have official warrant for the statement that the Reformatory Schools experiment in Bengal continues to be successful. Discipline is easily maintained. Most

of the boys attend the night school from 6 to 8 P.M, such attendance being a matter of freewill and election on their part. Of 74 boys released from Alipore during the year, 7 went to jail and 5 were reported as not bearing a good character, but 61 are believed to be leading honest lives. But why is it that only two out of the 61 are following the trades they were taught in the Reformatory? Why, again, do only eleven of the 115 erewhile detenus at Hazáribagh continue to work at what they learnt there?

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*Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlements of Port Blair and the Nicobars for* 1888-89.

IT may be truly said that Colonel Cadel, V. C., is every inch a constitutional king. At least nothing but a public debt, and what Lord Beaconsfield once referred to as "that fatal drollery called a representative Government," seem to be lacking to complete the tale of his orthodoxy in that state of life. He has an established church establishment to be at the head of, as well as State establishments. He has a regular army, made up of contingents from regiments serving in India, European and Native; and irregular forces not subject to the disadvantage of being stronger on paper than in reality. He has his navy, which, in lieu of an Admiralty Board, "continues to be satisfactorily managed by Mr. O. H. Brookes, in addition to his duties as Settlement Officer." He has his special judiciary; his Public Works Department; his Revenues; which are always in a flourishing condition—in spite of, possibly because of, the absence of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and manifold fussy work-creating clerks and red tape. There are indications in the Report before us that a Board of Trade is desiderated. The trade in padouk, and the export of tea want arranging. Goats are multiplying more rapidly than the agricultural Bureau desires. Sale of sucking pigs to free residents proved a loss to Government; and it is held "very desirable to extend the export of pigs," &c., &c.

The Public Works grant for the year was fully worked up to, only one rupee having lapsed, seemingly *exempli gratiâ*, as the Latin Grammar says. Sale of timber to private individuals made considerable progress. A net sum of Rs. 8,998 was realized by sale of tea boxes in Calcutta; but it was found that it would have paid better to have exported Gurjan planks, on which much less labour would have been expended.

Construction of a Tea Factory at Goplakaboung, and a salt Factory at North Bay, were completed during the year. The Volunteer Drill Hall, a spacious brick building, was also completed, also jetties, sea-walls, bunds, drains, tanks, wells,

roads, a vegetable garden, &c. In short, the Andaman Public Works Department renders a good account of itself. Labouring convicts cleared 425 beegas of virgin forest, newly appointed self supporters 1,014 beegas. The actual quantity of tea made was 53,745 lbs. against 38,545 in 1887-88. The success of the cacao plantation is by no means assured. "The experiments, which have been made in extracting the fibre of the Musa textilis with 'Berthon's rhea fibre extractor,' presented to the Government of India by Sir Walter de Souza, have not been successful, although the machine was repaired, altered, and in some details improved, by Mr. Ferguson, the very skilful mechanical engineer at Chatham, under whose charge it was placed. There appeared no probability of the successful adaptation of the machine to this purpose. The most favourable experiment with it was made in December, when, after extracting 74lb. of fibre from 1,839lb. of raw material, the machine broke down." The experiment of tobacco cultivation and curing under the supervision of Mr. Caine, the tobacco expert, resulted in "signal failure." One of the Government elephants called Napier has got sick of civilization and betaken himself to the jungles. "Two expeditions have failed to bring him back." Evidently he takes after Sir Charles of Sind fame. The health of the settlement has been bad, and the death rate above the average. Mr. Man furnishes an exhaustive report on the Nicobars, which are abandoned as a penal settlement, all public buildings at Nancowry having been dismantled, and establishments, &c., removed to Port Blair. Interesting information about the aborigines and their habits, &c., is furnished.

*Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs for the year* 1889.

ALTHOUGH the number of persons arrested by the Police and summoned fell from 69,377 in 1888 to 56,762 in the year under review, yet since the decrease occurred mainly under petty heads—the heads public and local nuisances, miscellaneous offences under the Stage Carriage Act, street offences, and offences under the Port Acts—it is no evidence either that the force was remiss in its duty, or that the Calcutta criminal classes were better behaved than usual. Apart from their possible bearing on the conservancy of the town, the offences paraded on the credit side of the Police Account are trumpery ones. Not so burglary, true cases of which rose from 161 to 179, and the number of convictions obtained from 95 to 119.

It is nothing to the point that the amount of property available as reward of burglarious endeavour was less than it

has been for four years past: that only means that luck, and incidence of the law of averages, were opposed to a bumper harvest for housebreakers in 1889. No credit belongs to the police for the fact; and it is to their discredit that the proportion of property recovered was smaller than in the previous four years—only 32·15 per cent., as compared with an average of 47·33. Sir Steuart Bayley, we see, agrees with the Commissioner of Police in thinking that the conditions of eastern life, the habit that prevails so largely among native shopkeepers, of quitting their shops at night, and the general insecurity of dwelling houses in this country, "are very favourable to the commission of the offence of burglary in Calcutta." They are so beyond a doubt; but surely they were just as much so before "true cases of burglary rose from 161 to 179."

Sir Steuart is made to say in his Resolution; "None the less the offence (*i.e.* burglary) is very much less frequent in Calcutta than in mofussil towns, a fact which must be attributed to the better watch and ward maintained in Calcutta."

It has been our melancholy fate to read a great many Mofussil Police Reports of late years, and almost without exception all of them have attributed the prevalence of housebreaking in country towns and villages mainly to the absence of street lamps, or to Municipal stinginess in not sanctioning an adequate expenditure on oil. It occurs to us that the gaslights of Calcutta—feeble though they are—have considerably more to do with the comparative infrequency of burglary in the city than efficient watch and ward has.

Mr. Lambert writes in his report: "The European quarter of the town was remarkably free from this class of offence." Why "remarkably?" It is a fairly well lighted quarter—*voila tout*!

Under the heading *Criminal Breach of Trust*, Mr. Lambert writes:—

261 cases and 92 convictions, against 269 cases and 97 convictions in 1888. The most audacious offenders are drivers of bullock carts, who employ much ingenuity to defraud their employers. They steal a registration plate from some other cart, and hurry off with their load of cloth or grain into remote parts of the suburbs, or to the railway, having previously arranged for the disposal of the goods at some distant market. They then remove the tin ticket, the number of which has probably been taken down by the merchants' sircar, and either throw the cart aside, or restore its proper ticket. These offences are carried out with great deliberation, and are difficult to detect. During the year 9 such cases were successfully prosecuted, but the offenders were dealt with by the Magistrates summarily. If, as was the practice in former years, all serious cases of this nature were committed to the Sessions, the offence would soon be stamped out.

Sir Steuart Bayley writes in his Resolution on the Police Report :—

The officers of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals did much good service throughout the year in prosecuting offenders under the Act, and over 98 per cent. of the persons arrested were convicted and punished. The barbarous practice of flaying goats alive was for the first time exposed, but the leniency of Magistrates in such cases as these, as well as in the numerous 'phooka' cases, seriously detracts from the good effect of the prosecutions. The Lieutenant-Governor hopes that the serious nature of such offences will be duly weighed by all Presidency Magistrates in similar cases in the future.

One hundred and seventy-three Bengali Officers and constables and 972 up-country men made up the total of the native Police Force employed in Calcutta and the suburbs, in 1889. About the intellectual capacity of Native Officers and its bearing on their work, Mr. Lambert writes :—

The standard of education among the native officers in this force is not such as gives a reasonable prospect of improved efficiency. Out of 177 officers, 36 have a knowledge both of English and the vernacular ; 75 others can read and write either Bengali or Urdu; but the remaining 66 are, for all practical purposes, illiterate.

It is hardly too much to expect that in these days of progress, the education of the Police Force, in the metropolis should advance at least *bari passu* with the education of the general community; but to effect any steady improvement in this direction, a higher rate of pay in the lowest grades of native officers is absolutely necessary.

In the Town and Suburban Police Force the establishment of native officers, on whose efficiency success of failure, both in the prevention and detection of crime, largely depends, is maintained on the following scale:—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Darogahs | on Rs. 50 | ... | ... | are 11 | in number. |
| 1st class Sergeants | „ 30 | ... | ... | „ 7 | „ |
| 2nd ditto | „ 25 | ... | ... | „ 19 | „ |
| 3rd ditto | „ 20 | ... | ... | „ 27 | „ |
| 1st class Corporals | „ 16 | .. | ... | „ 13 | „ |
| 2nd ditto | „ 12 | ... | ... | „ 42 | „ |
| 3rd ditto | „ 10 | ... | ... | „ 58 | „ |

The pay of these grades has received no increase for the past 35 years. Under the present organization it is impossible, as I said last year, to apportion the force for duties, which ought to be distinct: one portion for watch and ward; the other for investigating into crime.

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## *Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year* 1889.

THE total number of offences reported to the Police and Magistrates during 1889 was 157,979 compared with 159,885 and 164,459 during the years 1887 and 1888.

Whilom over worked Judges find it "satisfactory to observe that the tide appears to have turned, and that the steady

increase in reported crime, which occurred during the past six years, has received a check" :—

In the Carnál District under the head of offences relating to property, 986 true cases occurred in 1889 as compared with 502 in the preceeding year. The Lieutenant-Governor observes from the Sessions Judge's remarks that the District Magistrate has described this increase as nominal, and principally due to three causes, namely, the transfer of the Pihewa tract containing 88 villages from the Umballa District, the falling-off in employment produced by drought and the influx of strangers and bad characters in connection with the construction of the Delhi-Kálka Railway. If, as the statistics show, the true cases of offences against property have all but doubled since the year 1888, His Honor scarcely understands how the increase can be termed nominal, and, as regards the causes attributed, if the construction of the railway has led to an influx of strangers, who presumbly came to seek work, similar means of employment, should apparently have been available for the residents of the district who were affected by the drought. Some further explanation of the increase of crime therefore seems [illegible] his Resolution.

In Kohat 97 per cent. is very much [illegible] cases were admitted as true offences. In explanation of which peculiarity it is suggested that in this and other frontier districts the population is somewhat primitive and ergo truthful—rather a heterodox commentary on the Gospel of civilization as followed by the men of the west—which Sir James Lyall corrects by attributing the improved statistics to the manner in which references to councils of elders have been made under the Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1887. His Honor concurs with the Judges of the Chief Court that a word of warning appears necessary to some Magistrates against abuse of the power of summary dismissal :—

No doubt, there is an increasing tendency among the people to have recourse to the Criminal Courts on the most frivolous and unnecessary grounds, and this tendency must be restrained by a free use of Section 203 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. But this provision of the law should be applied with judgment, and because the procedure laid down in Chapter XVI of the Code is only preliminary, its importance should not on that account be overlooked. If the examination of the complainant which is required by Section 200 is intelligently conducted by the Magistrate, the result will be, on the one hand, should he decide to dismiss the complaint, that an innocent person is saved the inconvenience and indignity of being made to appear before the Court, while, on the other hand, if the complaint is admitted, the complaint's examination will have been formally recorded, and his opportunities lessened of thereafter varying his statements and supporting them by the production of false evidence.

The percentage of cases brought to trial to cases admitted to have occurred is held as evidence of satisfactory improvement "*if the figures for each district from which the provincial percentage has been derived can be considered accurate in all instances.*" Sir James Lyall does not think it can, and adduces reasons for his want of faith.

From the remarks made by the Sessions Judge of Delhi, there appear to be grounds for thinking that native Magistrates are apt to form an exaggerated idea of the heinousness of what they conceive to be offences against the State, such as the unlawful possession of an old, rusty sword, while crimes directed against individuals, such as house-breaking, are regarded as of less enormity, and punished with less rigour. What is bred in the bone, &c., &c.; an alien civilization can, at its best, do no more than veneer racial proclivities.

The number of murders admitted to have occurred is less than it was in any of the four preceding years. Still, it amounts to the respectable total of 397.

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*Report on the Calcutta Medical Institutions for the year* 1885.

THE town death-rate [illegible] 26·9, that of Howrah 22·71,—normal averages. Among the native [illegible] cholera than usual, counterbalanced by an "active recrudescence of small-pox, after it had been comparatively dormant for three previous years." Dr. Hilson says that the number of patients treated in the Hospitals has fallen considerably. Sir Steuart Bayley's Resolution on Dr. Hilson's Report refers to an increase in the number of indoor patients distributed among all the charitable institutions—to a "very considerable" increase in the Campbell Hospital. This increase is attributed to the high price of food-grains ruling during a great part of the year. Whether it was attributable to diseases induced by semi-starvation, or to malingering, is not stated; and that seems to us a point that ought to have been made clear. There appears to be no question that the falling off in the number of out-patients of the Mayo Hospital amounted to no less than 37,350, during the year under review. Dr. Hilson attributes this shameful total to the operation of a new rule under which the institution is closed on Sundays, and protests against the Judaic Sabbatarian zeal that has caused it. He fails to see, as will most people who are not mechanical religionists, why works of charity should be invidiously eschewed on the day specially devoted to the service of that Lord the very foundation of whose gospel is a catholic, comprehensive charity.

Dr. Hilson's surgical instinct prevails over his charity at times, *e.g.*, in para. 34 of his Report it runs:—

"I know it has been urged that House Surgeons and senior students in the large English hospitals are only allowed the privilege of operation on patients to a very limited extent, and that the high reputation which the Medical College Hospital at present enjoys might suffer if a different course were followed and many operations were performed by inexperienced and unskilful hands. To this it may be replied that India is not England, that the Indian student requires a more practical training than his

English *confrère*, to fit him for the active duties of his profession, and that there in no necessity to entrust him with other than the more simple operations which might be satisfactorily performed under the immediate supervision of the senior officers of the surgical wards.

*Fiat experimentum in corpore vili.*

Para 52 is pleasanter reading :—

*The Ezra Hospital* has been open during the entire year for the accommodation and treatment of Jewish patients. There were 1,438 out-patients, of whom 553 were Jews, 431 Jewesses, and 454 Jewish children, and the remainder were European or Eurasian Christians. There were also 236 indoor patients, of whom 153 were cured, 43 relieved, 26 discharged otherwise, and 3 died, while 11 remained under treatment at the close of the year. These figures are nearly all slightly in excess of those of the previous year showing that the benefits conferred by separate treatment in an institution specially designed for their accommodation are fully appreciated by the Jewish community.